

## When Former Enemies Turn Business Partners

### Millions of Arabs Find Themselves Accepting the Israelis as a Fact of Life

By Caryle Murphy and Nora Boustany  
*Washington Post Service*

CAIRO — Ahmed Kadry, an Egyptian, and Amr El-Sayid, an Israeli, had no idea they once had tried to kill each other.

"I'm an ex-pilot," Mr. El-Sayid said while chatting at a recent business meeting in Cairo. "I'm also an ex-pilot in the air force," Mr. Kadry said.

"What aircraft did you fly?"

"A Mig-21," Mr. Kadry replied. "I worked at Mansoura air base."

"I was one of the pilots who attacked Mansoura on the night of October 1973," Mr. El-Sayid disclosed to the attention of everyone in the room.

Mr. Kadry, now 45, was wishing his wife a happy anniversary on the phone when Israeli jets began the raid, one of the biggest of the 1973 Arab-Israeli War. After hanging up, he scrambled his jet as bombs fell.

"I told him I also attacked his bases, so we are equal," joked Mr. Kadry in an interview, adding that Mr. El-Sayid is returning soon for another visit to Egypt. "I think we have a lot of stories to tell."

The transformation of these enemy pilots into business partners is a parable for the ground-shaking change taking place in relations between Arabs and Israelis — a resigned but growing recognition by millions of Arabs from Morocco to the Gulf that the Jewish state has become an accepted part of life in the Middle East.

Signs of momentous change are in the details. Israel now has direct telephone links with several Arab states, including Qatar and Lebanon. Tunisia's state-run television sent a crew to Israel for the first time to do a program on West Bank Palestinians, and Arab newspapers are sending correspondents to Israel with some regularity.

"I would like to go there," said Ahmed Jarrah, editor of Kuwait's Al-Siyassah newspaper. "I would like to see this country."

A group of Egyptian Copts, defying the command of their religious leader, took off recently for Jerusalem to see the Christian holy places for the first time in 40 years. Israel was host to its first official delegation of Egyptian university professors and earlier this month 60 Moroccan-born Israeli Jews revisited their birthplace for the first time in four decades.

In a few months, it is going to become "fashionable" to go there, said a Cairo businessman, Sammy Eldin, who just made his first trip.

"Let me tell you something," said Fahmy al-Ghazali, 48, who also made his first trip a few weeks ago. "From the beginning, all the Israeli people were very cooperative and encouraging."

He added, "We like their way of doing business. They are very serious. They don't waste time after introductions. They start directly on their plan of action."

Israel's transition from pariah to potential partner is most evident in the overtures to Israelis by Arab governments and businessmen seeking potentially lucrative deals. Since September, Israeli officials have received VIP treatment in Qatar, Oman, Tunisia and Morocco.

Qatar is studying how to supply Israel with natural gas. Egypt has launched discussions on a joint oil refinery, and officials talk of eventually linking Arab and Israeli electricity grids.

Millionaire businessmen from Saudi Arabia, Kuwait, Qatar and Bahrain are jetting off to London, Paris and Cairo to meet Israelis, while Jordanians, Egyptians and Lebanese are rushing to Jerusalem for similar contacts.

The name of the game now is business," said Raouf Saad, the official in the Egyptian Foreign Ministry who organized a groundbreaking symposium here for Arab and Israeli tourism officials. They discussed regional package tours and possibly "one visa for the region."

Many Syrians are also looking forward to the See MIDEAST, Page 5



**MOURNING A FIRST LADY** — Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis's coffin being carried from St. Ignace Loyola Church in New York after her funeral Monday. Her children John F. Kennedy Jr. and Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg are at left. Edward M. Kennedy eulogized the former first lady at rites attended by 1,000 people. She was buried in Arlington National Cemetery. Page 3.

## For Seoul, Strong Yen Means Business

By Andrew Pollack  
*New York Times Service*

SEOUL — When Mitsubishi Motors Corp. said recently that it might buy steel from Pohang Iron and Steel Co. in South Korea, it created headlines on both sides of the Sea of Japan. Japanese auto companies, as a rule, have never bought Korean steel.

But with the rise of the yen, Korean steel is now about 20 percent cheaper than Japanese steel, Mitsubishi said, a difference too great to ignore.

Even as it squeezes Japan's famous steel, auto and electronics companies, the strong yen has given new life to their competitors in South Korea and elsewhere in Asia, pushing growth throughout what is already the world's fastest growing region.

"It's a tailwind for us," said Kim Sun Hong, the chairman of Kia Motors Corp., Korea's second-largest automaker. The company is doubling capacity at its main factory in anticipation of greater exports.

Owing in part to the yen's rise, South Korea's economy is booming again after two years of sluggishness. Economists expect 7 percent to 8 percent growth this year, compared with 5.6 percent last year and 5 percent the year before that.

New factories are going up everywhere and the government has decided to allow 20,000 foreign workers into the country to help fill job vacancies.

"The most important factor is the yen," said Lim Dong Sung, president of the Samsung Economic Research Institute. "The economic recovery is led by heavy industry — cars, shipbuilding, electronics. Most of these industries compete with Japan."

The yen is now worth about 7.7 Korean won, a gain of 22 percent from 6.3 won at the end of 1992. That has given Korean products a price

advantage of 10 percent to 25 percent over Japanese ones, Korean executives say.

With such an advantage, South Korea's shipbuilding industry surpassed Japan's in 1993 to become the world's largest in terms of orders received. Korean auto exports soared 40 percent in 1993 to 640,000 vehicles and another strong gain is expected this year.

The South Korean consumer electronics industry has benefited as well. "The export business is really booming," said Baek Soon Hoon, president of Daewoo Electronics Co. Daewoo's exports in the first quarter were up 48 percent to \$511 million.

Some of these exports are products that are sold by Japanese companies under their own names.

In most cases, Korean products are displacing Japanese ones in the United States, Europe, Asia and Latin America, not in Japan itself. But See YEN, Page 5

## U.S. Prepares to Welcome Slower Growth

By John M. Berry  
*Washington Post Service*

WASHINGTON — After months of rapid growth that have pushed the American economy close to the limits of what it can produce without straining, a broad growth is on the way.

But that doesn't mean that hard times are ahead. Indeed, to most economists, a slight slowdown would be welcome news.

"Despite a pattern of decelerating growth, the next couple of years may very well be the best of the expansion," said Laurence H. Meyer, who heads a forecasting firm in St. Louis.

Mr. Meyer's forecast, which is similar to that of many other economists, calls for growth to fall below a 3 percent annual rate in the second half of this year, slowing to about 2.5 percent in 1995 and even less in 1996.

Growth will be slowing this year, the forecast say, both because of natural forces in an economy that is moving into the fourth year of an expansion and because of the four increases in interest rates engineered this year by the Federal Reserve Board.

The Fed, which raised short-term rates by half a percentage point last week, has been boosting rates precisely to slow growth, which reached a 7 percent annual rate in the final three months of last year. The Fed hopes that higher rates will keep the economy from overheating and generating more inflation down the road.

This slightly slower growth is probably good news for President Bill Clinton, as it should mean the economy will still be reasonably strong at the time of the congressional elections in November and may still be growing in 1996, the next presidential election year.

For politicians seeking re-election this year, economic conditions should be about as good as they are likely to get on the national level.

For instance, Mr. Meyer expects Americans' inflation-adjusted after-tax incomes to go up 2.6 percent this year, which — except for 1992 — would be the largest increase since 1988.

While the growth figures in the new forecasts may seem low, Mr. Meyer and others said growth in that range would continue pushing down the unemployment rate, which was 6.4 percent last month, into 1996.

More important, while the economy will be growing relatively slowly, it will be operating at or slightly above the level that could cause a small, gradual rise in inflation — which is regarded by most economists as the measure of full employment.

Of course, economic conditions vary widely across the country, with California and parts of See RECOVERY, Page 5

## Kohl's Choice Wins Vote For President In Germany

### Victory by Herzog Gives Chancellor a Boost in Tough Re-election Race

By Stephen Kinzer  
*New York Times Service*

BERLIN — Chancellor Helmut Kohl won an important political victory Monday when a specially constituted assembly chose his candidate, Roman Herzog, chief justice of Germany's highest court, to be the next president.

Mr. Herzog, 60, will take office on July 1, replacing Richard von Weizsäcker, who after two five-year terms was ineligible for re-election.

Although the German presidency was once considered to be above partisan politics, this year's campaign was hard-fought by party leaders because of its potential impact on the race for chancellor that is under way. Mr. Kohl warned delegates from his Christian Democratic Union that if Mr. Herzog failed to win, the party's chances in the October election would suffer.

The chancellor, who was sitting at Mr. Herzog's side when the result was announced, is facing a tough re-election campaign against Rudolf Scharping of the Social Democratic Party. The election Monday suggested that Mr. Kohl remains strong.

In the decisive third round of voting, Mr. Herzog won the support of the centrist Free Democrats, who are Mr. Kohl's junior coalition partners. Their decision was taken as a sign that the coalition is firm.

After the election, Mr. Herzog said in a speech that Germany faced an uncertain and difficult future, but expressed confidence that "we Germans, we Europeans, can do what must be done."

He also appealed for greater understanding between the country's East and West.

"To the citizens of the former Federal Republic, of whom much sacrifice is being asked, I would say that this is the result of a historical injustice which happened to fall on the Elbe border," he said.

"To those in the new states, please understand that you are not a burden to us but a windfall," he said. "You bring much with you, experiences that we in the West did not have, in a world where many things were more humane than they were with us."

Mr. Herzog failed to win the clear majority of votes needed for victory in the first two rounds, but in the third round he took 696 votes to 605 for his Social Democratic opponent, Johannes Rau, governor of North Rhine-Westphalia.

The vote was taken at the Reichstag, the once and future home of the Parliament, by a 1,324-member assembly consisting of all 662 members of Parliament's lower house and an equal number of representatives from the 16 state governments.

Opinion surveys suggested that if the public had been allowed to vote, the result would have been different, with Mr. Rau easily defeating Mr. Herzog, who is relatively unknown.

The president has little formal power, but the job became highly visible after Mr. Weizsäcker began using it as a pulpit to denounce terror against foreigners and to remind Germans that they should not forget negative aspects of their history.

Mr. Herzog is a highly respected jurist but a puzzle to many Germans.

He is a native Bavarian, though unlike most Bavarians he is Protestant rather than Catholic. He favors Brazilian cigars and collects Tommy Dorsey recordings.

While serving as justice minister in the western state of Baden-Württemberg, Mr. Herzog earned a hard-line reputation by introducing

## Israel Demands Arafat Restate Commitment to Peace Accord

By David Hoffman  
*Washington Post Service*

JERUSALEM — Israel demanded Monday that Yasser Arafat, chairman of the Palestine Liberation Organization, recommit himself in writing to the Gaza-Jericho peace accord, and senior Israeli leaders warned that the process of Palestinian self-rule would be frozen if Mr. Arafat could not assert control in those two areas.

The demands followed continuing disarray among the Palestinian security forces and the disclosure of further excerpts from a speech Mr. Arafat delivered May 10 in a Johannesburg mosque, in which he appeared to imply he would abrogate the accord with Israel. It was disclosed earlier that Mr. Arafat had called in the same speech for a "jihad" to liberate Jerusalem. He said he had been misunderstood.

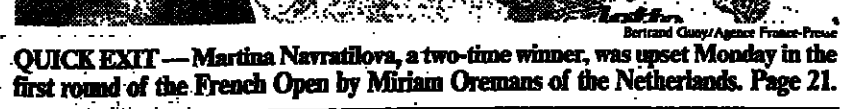
Prime Minister Yitzhak Rabin's spokesman, Oded Ben-Ami, said Israel would ask Mr. Arafat "for a written reaffirmation of his commitment in light of the speech in Johannesburg."

A rightist group of rabbis and secular activists disclosed, that in his address, Mr. Arafat said the pact with Israel was similar to the one that Mohammed had signed with the Kurash tribe in 628 B.C.

"This agreement, I am not considering it more than the agreement which had been signed between our Prophet Mohammed and Kurash," Mr. Arafat said.

Since some scholars have contended that Mohammed broke the truce, his statement could indicate that Mr. Arafat intends to do the same. But Mr. Arafat's loyalists take issue with this interpretation, saying that it was the Kurash who violated the agreement first.

Mr. Arafat's adviser on Israeli affairs, Ahmed Tibi, said Israeli news organizations had distorted Islamic history to put Mr. Arafat on See JIHAD, Page 5



**QUICK EXIT** — Martina Navratilova, a two-time winner, was upset Monday in the first round of the French Open by Miriam Oremans of the Netherlands. Page 21.

## Klosk

### U.S. and Japan Nearing Trade Deal

WASHINGTON (AP) — Outlines of a compromise emerged Monday as negotiators from the United States and Japan struggled to resolve a three-month trade dispute between the two countries.

They were said to be close to a deal in which the United States would pledge not to seek specific numerical targets for imports from Japan. In return, Japan would drop its opposition to using various criteria to measure progress in opening markets.

Negotiators met Monday for the fourth time in five days, with growing signs that agreement was imminent.

Commerce Secretary Ronald H. Brown said the fact that the discussions, which had originally been scheduled to last only one day, were still under way was a "good and positive sign."

The U.S. trade representative, Mickey Kantor, said Japan had responded to proposals he had put forward a month ago in Morocco "in a very positive manner," but he refused to go into specifics about what was being discussed or to predict when the talks might be over.

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Newsstand Prices	
Andorra.....9.00 FF	Luxembourg 60 L. Fr
Antilles.....11.20 FF	Morocco.....12 Dh
Cameroon.....1.40 CFA	Cenar.....8.00 Riols
France.....E.P. 5000	Réunion.....11.20 FF
Greece.....9.00 FF	Saudi Arabia.....9.00 R.
Gabon.....950 CFA	Senegal.....900 CFA
Ghana.....300 Dr.	Spain.....200 PTAS
Italy.....2.400 Lire	Tunisia.....1.000 Din
Ivory Coast.....1.120 CFA	Turkey.....T.L. 25.000
Jordan.....1 JD	U.S.A. ....\$ 1.50
Lebanon.....US\$ 1.50	U.S. Mil. (Eur.) \$1.10

Dow Jones		Trib Index	
Down	23.94	Down	0.01%
5742.41		113.69	
The Dollar		Previous Close	
DM	1.6436	1.6454	
Pound	1.507	1.505	
Yen	104.39	104.15	
FF	5.6263	5.63	

## Terror Is Fading in Vietnam But Fear Remains Pervasive

Malcolm W. Browne  
*New York Times Service*

HO CHI MINH CITY, Vietnam — The terror of arbitrary arrests, secret trials and penal servitude that gripped Vietnam in the decade after the 1975 "liberation" has begun to fade against the glare of the country's economic dawn. But fear still casts a subtle shadow.

By 1988, when Vietnam's Communist leaders began a struggle to improve their long-suffering country's image and attract desperately needed foreign investment, the network of prison camps is believed to have freed all but a few hundred of the tens of thousands of political prisoners they held.

But although overt opposition to the government is quiescent, the police still make midnight calls on sleeping families, and an unlucky

suspect can expect to spend up to a year in jail before being tried.

Political trials, which are closed to foreign observers, still result in long prison sentences for such vaguely defined crimes as "counterrevolutionary propaganda." Prudent citizens choose their words carefully.

For some, the stress of uncertainty has proved insuperable.

The proprietor of a Saigon leather-goods store told a visitor that two of his brothers had recently committed suicide, fearing that they were about to be re-arrested and sent back to a "re-education camp" or one of the "new economic zones" set up immediately after the war — Vietnam's equivalent of Siberian gulags.

The family was friendly with many American University and the city's religious and royal antecedents, the rebellion against the fast-food chain carries a special meaning. The fight is not so much about a particular building, although that is part of it, but about fending off what many here see as the cult of prosperity.

Badly abused by the Communist government, which built a polluting steelworks nearby that scarred priceless statues and architecture, the city is now working hard to clean up its air, water and art. Many Krakovians say they do not want what they call another kind of outside vulgarity and will use their new-found democratic means to stop it.

"The activities of this firm are symbolic of mass industrial civilization and a superficial cosmopolitan way of life," said Mr. Juchnowicz, who is also the chairman of the Polish Ecological Club. "Many historic events happened in this place, and McDonald's would be the beginning of the cultural degradation of this most precious urban area."

McDonald's, which has 13 restaurants in Poland, says that

### Fifty Years After D-Day



Today in our series charting the West's evolving landscape since D-Day, two eminent social commentators address the question of ethnicity and multiculturalism. Whereas Europe's cohesive societies defend themselves against immigration, America-the-Haven has always looked to successive waves of newcomers to reinvigorate the economy.

Jonathan Eyal, director of studies at the Royal United Services Institute in London, and Richard Reeves, author and syndicated columnist, argue the value of each approach. (Page 4)

Previous articles in the series have dealt with security, economics and technology. Subsequent articles will appear next Monday and again on June 6.

## For Krakow, McDonald's Golden Arches Don't Fit In

By Jane Perlez  
*New York Times Service*

KRAKOW, Poland — The aesthetic guardians of this gloriously intact medieval city, the home of Cardinal Karol Wojtyla before he became Pope John Paul II, are determined that their main market square, with its domes and statues and ancient town houses, not go the way of some of Europe's other landmarks.

Fired by centuries of city pride that glows ever more fiercely since the collapse of communism, Krakow is saying "no" to McDonald's in the square, known as Rynek Główny.

"You don't put a jukebox in a salon," said Stanislaw Juchnowicz, a professor of architecture and one of the city's most passionate defenders. "We consider our marketplace our salon."

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Krakow is being unfair. The company says it already has one outlet in the city and went to great lengths to ensure that the restaurant melded with the facades of Florianska Street, the old Royal Way, where it was built. The red and yellow logos are indeed discreet, no bigger than any of the myriad new commercial signs on the street.

"We have proven that McDonald's can fit in," said Timothy Fenton, the managing director of McDonald's Poland. "We took a 14th-century building that was devastated and restored it to its natural beauty."

Mr. Fenton said McDonald's was being picked on. "They have set a precedent by having everything else on the square — Adidas, Kodak. Why not us? It is an emotional thing."

The dispute is over the company's plans to open a restaurant in a faded but elegant building with 15th-century foundations. To temper emotions, McDonald's agreed to put its entrance on See KRAKOW, Page 5



## North Korea Warns On Naval Exercises

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**

TOKYO — North Korea on Monday described scheduled U.S. naval exercises in the Pacific as hostile military action that it was prepared to counter.

Navy from the United States, Japan, South Korea, Australia and Canada are to take part in six weeks of war games starting Tuesday near Hawaii.

The exercises will include a simulated battle between opposing fleets involving about 50 vessels, 200 aircraft and 25,000 personnel.

The maneuvers, known as Rim-pac, which stands for Pacific Rim, were first held in 1980 in response to the growing presence of the Soviet Navy in that region.

This year, military analysts say, the exercise will serve as a preparation for a possible naval blockade of North Korea.

North Korea is suspected of developing nuclear weapons. It denies this but has refused to allow international experts to fully inspect its nuclear plants.

The United States has raised the prospect of sanctions against the North if it continues to deny such access.

A spokesman for the North Korean Foreign Ministry said the maneuvers were part of a U.S.-led campaign of military intimidation. "This is a military action that must not go unnoticed in view of the arms buildup the United States is forcing in South Korea," the spokesman said. The ministry also assailed talk of sanctions over what it called the "fictitious" nuclear issue.

The statement was carried by the official Korean Central News Agency, monitored in Tokyo.

"The Korean people are not afraid of anyone's military action and are prepared to counter the U.S.-orchestrated multinational military action," the statement said.

In an interview published Monday, a North Korean defector said 12 kilograms of plutonium from spent nuclear fuel in 1983 despite its public denials.

## Australia Liberals Elect New Leader And Stress Unity

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**

CANBERRA — Australia's opposition Liberal Party on Monday installed a rising young star, Alexander Downer, as its leader and dropped John Hewson, who led the conservative party to a surprise defeat in elections last year.

In its eighth leadership ballot in 12 years, the party chose Mr. Downer over Mr. Hewson by 43 votes to 36, ending divisive speculation that had plagued the party since its loss to Prime Minister Paul Keating's Labor Party in general elections in March 1993.

Mr. Downer, 42, said after his election: "The Liberal Party has made a fresh start. We've set a course to win the next election."

Mr. Hewson, 47, who had called the ballot as his hold on the job slipped last week, said the party now had to maintain unity.

Mr. Downer has been in Parliament for 10 years. He favors more centrist economic policies than does Mr. Hewson.

(Reuters, AP, AFP)

The defector, Kim Dai Ho, a former official at a North Korean reprocessing plant, told the Tokyo newspaper Yomiuri that the fuel came from a reactor at Yongbyon, which is at the center of the dispute between Pyongyang and the International Atomic Energy Agency.

Plutonium is a key ingredient for a nuclear bomb. North Korea, which denies it is trying to develop such weapons, insists the only plutonium it ever produced at Yongbyon was "a tiny amount" in 1992.

So far, however, it has barred atomic agency experts from carrying out checks to determine whether it was telling the truth.

"If you have 12 kilograms of plutonium, you can make two nuclear bombs," said Mr. Kim, who defected to South Korea on May 7.

Mr. Kim also said that North Korea's secret nuclear development program was under the personal supervision of President Kim Il Sung and his son, Kim Jong Il.

(Reuters, AP)



**JET JUNKYARD** — A soldier patrolling Monday among the remains of jet fighters at a base in Baranovich, Belarus. The planes were destroyed in accordance with an agreement on conventional weapons in Europe. About 30 MIGs are to be junked this year.

## Business Group in Hong Kong Opposes Patten's Electoral Plan

**Compiled by Our Staff From Dispatches**

HONG KONG — Hong Kong's General Chamber of Commerce, long a battleground between the pro-democracy and conservative camps, came out on Monday against key parts of Governor Chris Patten's reform bill.

The group's chairman, William Fung, criticized Mr. Patten's plan to give all 2.7 million workers a second vote in "functional," or occupational-based constituencies.

In recent years, the chamber has been the stage for a struggle between members favoring more democracy before the British colony returns to China in 1997 and conservative

businessmen who oppose confronting Beijing.

Mr. Fung said the chamber had told the government its views on parts of the bill, which the Legislative Council will debate on June 29.

He said, "We felt that the administration's proposals to create new large functional constituencies, representing an electorate of some 2.7 million from nine industrial and commercial sectors, to be a major departure from the concept and character of the existing functional constituencies."

Until now, electorates for functional constituencies have been tiny. At the last elections, in 1991, only about 100,000 people ranging from doctors and social workers to chambers of commerce members were allowed to elect members.

Mr. Patten says widening the electorate will make legislators more accountable to public opinion but China has accused him of trying to introduce direct elections by the back door.

In a separate development, a government spokesman said Monday that the number of people leaving Hong Kong ahead of the colony's transfer to Chinese sovereignty in 1997 dropped nearly 20 percent last year, to 53,000.

The spokesman attributed the decrease to the lingering recession in many of the Western countries that emigrants choose and to reduced immigration quotas in destination countries.

About 60,000 people left the territory in 1991, and an additional 66,000 departed in 1992. The government expects about 60,000 emigrants this year.

(Reuters, AFP)

## D-Day '44 in the Paris Press: The Allies Are Losing

**By Barry James**

*International Herald Tribune*

PARIS — How did the Normandy landings 50 years ago look from the other side? The pro-German press in Paris reported the operation with banner headlines, but predicted an early failure for the Allies.

Le Matin reported from German official sources that the Allies had lost 25,000 men in the first day of fighting — the real figure was 11,000 casualties or more — and had been forced to abandon several bridgeheads. It said airborne forces had been effectively wiped out by land mines and German fire.

"The first day of the invasion ended with a complete defensive success," the newspaper said, citing sources in Berlin.

The June 7 front page included an appeal from Marshal Philippe Pétain, the chief of state, for the French to remain calm and go about their duties normally while the fighting took place.

In an oblique reference to the resistance, Pétain warned people not to listen to those seeking to exploit the nation's distress. They threatened to lead it to disaster, he said.

A report in the same edition said the information minister, Philippe Henriot, had been to Berlin to "render homage to the Waffen SS" — Hitler's most fanatical troops — which he said were fighting to achieve a "European revolution."

The following day, June 8, things were looking a little clearer for Le Matin, which reported that German resis-

tance was strengthening along the Normandy coast and that despite "desperate efforts" the Allies had failed in their attempts to occupy Cherbourg and Caen.

Le Matin reported that American, British and Canadian prisoners were being taken to Rouen, where it said "incidents" had occurred with the local population, angered by Allied bombing raids on their city.

Meanwhile, Mr. Henriot continued his visit to Berlin by calling on the propaganda minister, Joseph Goebbels. He recalled the enthusiastic reception given recently to Pétain in Paris. This, he said, was proof that the French followed a single government, that of the marshal. A few weeks later, the people of Paris were to give an equally enthusiastic reception to General Charles de Gaulle.

The following week, on June 15, Le Cri du Peuple in Paris said the "Anglo-Americans" were vainly attempting to enlarge their bridgehead. For once, the newspaper said, correspondents from Germany, Britain and America could agree on one thing: "The destruction is terrific."

On June 21, Le Petit Parisien reported the bombardment of London by a new German weapon described as "meteors of dynamite" — the V-1 flying bombs. News of the fighting in Normandy was relegated to page 2, where the newspaper, in a story dated from Berlin, said that American troops were driving northward toward Cherbourg. But the movement was dismissed as of no importance, and German military sources said that the real battle of Normandy had not yet begun.

The following day, June 22, Paris Midi said that the so-

called German "flying robots" were seriously disrupting supplies to the "invasion army" in France. Without mentioning German losses, it said 650 American and British tanks had been destroyed since the beginning of the Normandy fighting.

Paris-Soir on June 24 led with a warning by Goebbels that Germany's new weapon would continue to rain on London. The first phase of reprisals, he said, was but a prelude and there would be more powerful and effective weapons.

The newspaper also picked up an article from the London newspaper News Chronicle explaining why the United States had refused to recognize de Gaulle's Free French as the legitimate government in France.

It said America's aim was to defeat Germany while de Gaulle's was to achieve the spiritual rebirth of France — and "it is first necessary to show that France can be regenerated."

The article was accompanied by a statement from de Gaulle's representative in Normandy saying that there could be no elections in France for several years to allow for "the detoxification of populations infected by German propaganda."

Also on its front page, Paris-Soir reported a major Allied bombing raid on the Paris region, which it said killed at least 75 and wounded 171. The head of police in the capital bemoaned the "inexplicable imprudence" of the Parisians, who he said had flocked to see what was happening rather than taking shelter.

## WORLD BRIEFS

### Yeltsin Targets Taxes and Exports

MOSCOW (AP) — President Boris N. Yeltsin signed a package of economic decrees Monday aimed at increasing tax collection and stimulating production and exports.

Alexander Livshits, who heads a presidential panel of economic advisers, said the five decrees would help promote true economic reform, which, he said, "have not started yet in the Russian economy."

Under the decrees, Mr. Livshits said, basic tax rates for producers including the profits tax and value-added tax, would be lowered to 10 percent to 20 percent to boost production. At the same time, businesses will face high fines for tax evasion, he said. The decrees also would allow the total number of taxes, offer tax advantages to Russian foreign joint ventures producing inside Russia, and cancel a complex system of government-imposed export quotas and licenses.

### U.S. Backs Ukraine Hold on Crimea

WASHINGTON (AP) — Stepping into a boiling dispute, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher notified Ukraine on Monday that it has the support of the Clinton administration in trying to maintain control of the strategic Black Sea peninsula of Crimea.

"The territorial integrity of Ukraine within its present borders is something that the United States has consistently affirmed," said the State Department spokesman, Mike McCurry. Mr. Christopher assured the Ukrainian foreign minister, Anatoli Zlenko, of the U.S. position in a letter delivered Monday, the U.S. official said.

Crimean and Ukrainian leaders accused each other on Sunday of stockpiling weapons and preparing to battle for control of Crimea. The peninsula was part of Russia until 1954. It has a population of 2.7 million, of whom 70 percent of which is Russian.

### Serbs Ignore Agreement on Gorazde

SARAJEVO, Bosnia-Herzegovina (AP) — The latest deal to ease tensions in Gorazde failed Monday within days of its agreement. United Nations officials said Serbian troops refused to withdraw from the town, were building new bunkers and were restricting UN movements.

Bosnian Serbian leaders signed an accord Saturday with the UN military commander, Sir Michael Rose, pledging to pull about 150 militiamen out from a 3-kilometer exclusion zone around Gorazde. The troops were supposed to leave the town, which is 36 kilometers (22 miles) southeast of Sarajevo, by Sunday.

On Sunday, "we all waited for the magical hour," the UN spokesman, Rob Anand, told journalists Monday, but "no changes in the deployment of troops" occurred. Serbian soldiers were observed reinforcing their positions by building bunkers just outside the exclusion zone, he said.

### NATO Chief to Miss Ministerial Talks

BRUSSELS (Reuters) — Secretary-General Manfred Wörner, of NATO, who is recovering from operations for cancer of the colon, will miss a meeting of alliance defense ministers on Tuesday and Wednesday, a spokesman for the North Atlantic Treaty Organization said.

The NATO secretary-general will not be chairing the meeting of defense ministers on the advice of his doctors not to interrupt his convalescence," the spokesman told reporters Monday. It will be his last high-level NATO meeting that Mr. Wörner, 59, has missed since he fell ill in 1992.

The NATO ministers are to discuss how the Partnership for Peace defense cooperation program would apply to Russia.

### Opposition Turns Up Heat on Hata

TOKYO (Reuters) — Prime Minister Tsutomu Hata, head of Japan's first minority government since 1955, came under a barrage of criticism Monday from an aggressive opposition more determined than ever to topple his coalition.

The Liberal Democratic Party, which now holds more seats than the coalition, denounced Mr. Hata as ineffectual and a mere puppet of his powerful backroom boss, Ichiro Ozawa. "A person other than the prime minister, Ozawa himself, is making all the decisions," said Takashi Fukuya, a Liberal Democratic lawmaker. "This two-tiered power structure is deplorable."

Mr. Hata also came under attack for the delay in enacting a budget, now seven weeks overdue, which is needed to help finance anti-recession measures. Legislators approved a second interim budget last week to tide the government over until the end of June.

### Bomb Ends Colombia Election Peace

BOGOTA (Reuters) — A bomb blast in Medellín that killed six police officers has shattered Colombia's fragile pre-election peace and renewed fears among officials that violence may stain the presidential elections Sunday.

Police said Monday they thought the 40-kilogram (88-pound) bomb, which exploded Sunday evening, wrecking a police van returning from escort duty at a soccer match, was probably the work of Marxist guerrillas opposed to the government.

"All the information we have suggests the guerrillas want to do something big before the elections to show their strength," a presidential source said. The bomb Sunday shattered a calm in Medellín that had reigned since police shot and killed the drug boss Pablo Escobar-Gaviria there last December.

### U.S. House Acts on Ocean Dumping

WASHINGTON (AP) — According to an international convention signed last year, the House of Representatives approved a ban Monday on dumping radioactive waste in the ocean.

The measure, which passed by voice vote, strengthens a 1972 law that prohibits the dumping of high-level radioactive wastes into ocean waters. The bill must still be considered by the Senate.

The United States and most other industrialized nations in 1972 agreed to the London Dumping Convention that banned high-level radioactive waste dumping. In 1983 those nations also agreed to a voluntary moratorium on disposing of low-level radioactive wastes in the ocean. The voluntary moratorium was formalized in November.

## TRAVEL UPDATE

### Tunnel Passenger Service in July

LONDON (Reuters) — Eurotunnel, operator of the Channel Tunnel linking Britain and France, said Monday it expected to start its passenger service in a limited form in July.

Through trains will carry passengers between London and Paris and shuttle trains will carry cars and other private vehicles between the coastal towns of Folkestone and Calais.

A spokesman said the train service, which will take three hours between London and Paris and three hours and 15 minutes between London and Brussels, is expected to take 60 percent of the present business air travel among the three cities.

Fifty-six cars and motorcycles braking suddenly in the rain slammed into each other on Monday, injuring 15 people, on a motorway near Rosenheim, south of Munich.

Subfreezing cold swept South Africa overnight. A couple trying to keep warm by a coal fire in a frigid bath in Bishop Lavis near Cape Town died from inhaling fumes while asleep, police said.

With fares substantially below those of Iberia and Air France, the privately owned Air Europa plans to start flying between Madrid and Paris next month, the company announced in Madrid.

Fog closed the airport on the Portuguese island of Madeira, stranding hundreds of tourists, airport officials said Monday. Flights were halted Sunday afternoon, and there was little prospect of the weather clearing until Tuesday, they said.

(Reuters)

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## THE AMERICAS

## ★ POLITICAL NOTES ★

## White House in a Bind Over California

WASHINGTON — In 1992, the motto of the Clinton campaign was: "It's the economy, stupid." For the White House aides counting electoral votes for 1996, the theme is: "It's California, stupid."

Those two goals collided when the Federal Reserve raised short-term interest rates for the fourth time this year, seeking to brake the national economy before its recovery gets too strong and leads to inflation.

The problem is that California's recovery has hardly begun rolling yet. State officials are concerned that higher interest rates are likely to hurt the state's economy, especially its huge housing industry.

"It is our concern that these increased rates may dampen or depress the beginnings of a modest housing recovery in the state," said Harold D. Palmer, an assistant director of the California Department of Finance.

Administration officials have said they regarded higher interest rates as a necessary evil to fight inflation, something they must accept despite the likely harm to California.

The result is a frustrating situation for the administration, and one fraught with some political peril. California is critical to President Clinton's re-election prospects in 1996. But however crucial he considers the state, there is a limit to how much he can do to help its economy separately from the rest of the nation's. (NYT)

## First Lady Denies Oval Office Ambitions

NEW YORK — The New Yorker magazine reports in its current issue that some friends of the first lady say she may be planning to succeed her husband.

But at least one source for the story says the magazine misquoted her, and Mrs. Clinton's spokeswoman denies that any such conversations have occurred.

The magazine quoted Betty Wright, President Bill Clinton's chief of staff when he was governor of Arkansas, as saying: "There are a great many people talking very seriously about her succeeding him."

In December, according to the magazine, Ms. Wright said: "Their staff will say 'We have to do it this way and that way, and then we'll be here at least 12 years.' And it's not just the staff. Friends, Democrats, people out across the country think it is a very viable plan of action."

Ms. Wright, now a lobbyist, said after the magazine came out that she never said anything of the sort. Speculation that Mrs. Clinton wants to succeed the president after — and if — he is elected to a second term is "silly," she said. (AP)

## Listening to Clinton, Still Not Liking It

PHOENIX, Arizona — When Bill Clinton speaks, Pamela Lopez and Bob Lewis listen. "He's smooth, and he's talking like a man on your side," said Mr. Lewis. Ms. Lopez agreed: "He can get up and give a talk and actually, you know, I've been caught up in the emotional effect."

That said, the two Phoenix-area residents think less of the president today than when he was elected in 1992. They did not vote for him then and cannot imagine doing so now. "He's a typical politician," said Ms. Lopez, a paralegal. Mr. Lewis, who works in the defense industry, said, "I see no substance as a leader."

The Post first interviewed Mr. Lewis, Ms. Lopez and eight other Phoenix-area residents in 1992, when their disgust with both Republicans and Democrats drew them to Ross Perot's fledgling campaign. All voted for Mr. Perot in November 1992.

The Post recently recontacted six of the original group of 10 people to ask them how their attitudes toward Mr. Perot, Mr. Clinton, Congress and politicians had changed since the election. Lois Crowell, a human resources clerk, put it succinctly: "Right back where we started," she said. To which David Ireland, a stockbroker, added, "Unfortunately!" (WTP)

## Quote/Unquote

Former President George Bush, in a commencement address at Colby College in Waterville, Maine: "If, as president, I had the power to give just one thing to the nation, it would have been the sense to strive for a moral compass. I'm convinced that it is the idea of family, where the answers to our problems can be found." (AP)

## Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis Laid to Rest at Eternal Flame

By Paul F. Horvitz

International Herald Tribune

WASHINGTON — Jacqueline Kennedy Onassis was buried on Monday at Arlington National Cemetery in Washington beside an eternal flame she lighted three decades ago at the grave of her assassinated husband, the 35th president of the United States.

Her two children, John F. Kennedy Jr. and Caroline Kennedy Schlossberg, joined 100 close friends and family members for a final good-bye, each kneeling and kissing her mahogany casket. Mr. Kennedy leaned to touch his father's gravestone as well.

The moment was poignant and painful for millions of Americans who had strong memories of a 34-year-old widow escorting

her two young children during the funeral for President John F. Kennedy in 1963.

American television networks interrupted their programming to bring live coverage of the Onassis funeral and burial, interspersed with historical footage from the Kennedy years. Earlier in the day, thousands of mourners stood behind police barricades outside the private funeral in New York.

President Bill Clinton, long an admirer of President Kennedy and more recently an acquaintance of Mrs. Onassis, offered a brief graveside eulogy, saying: "God gave her very great gifts and imposed upon her great burdens. She bore them all with dignity and grace and uncommon common sense."

"May the flame she lit so long ago burn

ever brighter here and always brighter in our hearts. God bless you friend, and farewell."

Mrs. Onassis was 64 when she died of cancer last week at her apartment in New York, where she had worked as a book editor and doted on her daughter's three children.

She was eulogized by her brother-in-law, Senator Edward M. Kennedy, at a funeral Mass in the same New York church, St. Ignace Loyola, where she had been christened. As he had done so many times at funerals for members of the Kennedy family, the senator mixed humor with somber affection.

He recalled that Mrs. Onassis had invited the Clintons aboard the family yacht during a vacation at Martha's Vineyard

last year. She urged the senator to step off the boat and greet the president, instead of leaving that duty to Maurice Tappan, her longtime companion.

"I said, 'Maurice is already there,'" the senator said.

"And Jackie answered with a smile: 'Teddy, you do it. Maurice isn't running for reelection.'"

Mr. Kennedy went on to praise his sister-in-law as a woman with a strong sense of self and an equally strong devotion to her children.

He recounted a remark she had made of her first husband the month after his assassination: "They made him a legend, when he would have preferred to be a man."

He explained her struggle for privacy this way: "She never wanted public notice

— in part, I think, because it brought back painful memories of an unbearable sorrow, endured in the glare of a million lights."

Caroline, 36, and John Jr., 33, read selections from the Scriptures and their mother's favorite poems at the funeral Mass, including "Memory of Cape Cod" by Edna St. Vincent Millay. Mr. Kennedy said the family had sought to capture "my mother's essence" in selecting the readings, "her love of words, the bonds of home and family and her spirit of adventure."

Jessie Norman, the opera soprano, sang "Ave Maria," and Mike Nichols, the movie director, read from the Scriptures.

Mrs. Onassis, who married Aristotle Onassis in 1968, was ill with non-Hodgkin's lymphoma when she reportedly made the decision to be buried at Arlington.

## Ball Starts to Roll On Health Costs

## Toughest Foes Beginning to Soften

By Adam Clymer

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — For the first time since President Bill Clinton proposed a national health insurance plan in September, some of his opponents are giving ground.

Not necessarily a lot. "It's a very narrow strip of ground," said Senator Daniel R. Coats, Republican of Indiana, who has suspended his all-out opposition to anything resembling the Clinton proposal.

He did so just long enough to join a unanimous vote by the Senate Labor Committee for a cost-control plan that involved major concessions by both sides.

Republicans on the committee who shifted their position were joined by Senator John B. Breaux, a Louisiana Democrat on the Finance Committee, who decided that he could support requiring most employers to pay for their workers' insurance.

The shift here was an important movement on the most crucial issue of all, how to pay for any universal insurance system.

There was also a meeting of minds on cost control, one of dozens of complicated issues that Democrats have committed themselves to clearing away over the next few weeks, a necessity if Congress is to successfully redesign the nation's health care system this year.

Republicans on the Labor Committee, plainly uncomfortable in the role of naysayers assigned by

their party's leaders, may make some more deals this week on subjects like the degree of bureaucracy needed to supervise a new health system. That would be another measure of opposition flexibility, for until last week it was only Mr. Clinton's allies who were offering deals as they trooped for votes.

Republicans wanted any benefits program defined by an independent board, not by Congress, which they said would give away the store. Democrats said Congress had to level with the public about just what medical care would be covered in a new system. So they cut a deal, with Congress to establish the system and a board having a great deal of power to cut it back if costs soared.

Mr. Breaux's shift on employer payments was less decisive. He is, after all, one senator, not a political faction. But he moved on health care's toughest political issue, and his seat on the Finance Committee gives him influence.

Republicans have been louder, but conservative Democrats have joined in their antagonism to making employers pay. When Mr. Breaux said he could support such a requirement if it left employers of 10 or fewer workers free not to insure, that was a major break in the opposition ranks.

Representative Richard A. Gephardt of Missouri, the House majority leader, said Mr. Breaux's shift had altered the political situation in that body. "It means conservative Democrats can start talking about ideas that embrace universal coverage," he said.

He also said there was a lot of House interest in the bill that the Senate Labor Committee was considering. That legislation is a modification of the Clinton plan put forward by Senator Edward M. Kennedy, Democrat of Massachusetts. It would soften the impact on very small businesses and enable any American to join the Federal Employees Health Benefits Plan, and thus be offered the same insurance choices that members of Congress and government workers have.

In the Senate, too, the movement by Mr. Breaux suggested that Democrats could get the bill out of the Finance Committee without Republican help if they have to. If they can solidify their own 11 votes that may be the surest way to attract some support from the 9 Republicans.

On Sunday, one of those Republicans, Senator John H. Chafee of Rhode Island, predicted that the committee and Congress would adopt a universal insurance bill. He insisted, on NBC television, that universal coverage and the savings it should generate, were unattainable without requiring either individuals or employers to buy insurance.

The public shifts were not the only important developments in Congress. The Finance Committee, one member reported, decided not to wait until the Congressional Budget Office measures Mr. Chafee's bill, which would require individuals to buy their own insurance, before it starts voting.

But even that decision was a reminder of a failure — the certain failure of all committees except, probably, Mr. Kennedy's, to meet the May 30 deadline they had announced, perhaps imprudently.



ANOTHER ALASKA SPILL — The tanker Eastern Lion, foreground, chartered by British Petroleum, is moored at Port Valdez after leaking 8,000 gallons of crude oil, briefly closing the marine terminal of the trans-Alaska pipeline. Within 24 hours, cleanup crews using fishing boats, booms and skimmers had contained most of the spill. The cause of the leak has not been determined.

## Away From Politics

● Federal courts cannot second-guess government decisions on which military installations will be closed, the U.S. Supreme Court decided in rejecting Senator Arlen Specter's challenge to the closing of a shipyard in Pennsylvania. The Clinton administration had argued that letting judges step in would make it impossible to act quickly to achieve a leaner post-Cold War military.

● Times are too hard for the United States to welcome immigrants with open arms, nearly two of three Americans say, but most do not want immigration shut off entirely, according to a CBS poll. Thirty-one percent said immigrants took jobs from Americans, but 52 percent said the jobs taken were the kind Americans do not want anyway.

● Seeking political asylum, six persons who said they were relatives of the man charged with killing Mexico's leading presidential candidate crossed the U.S. border Sunday, officials said. The group included three children and a woman who said she was the mother of Mario Aburto Martinez, accused of gunning down the ruling Institutional Revolutionary Party's candidate, Luis Donaldo Colosio, on March 23. (AP, AFP)

## Dissent on 'Qualified' Envoy

## Career Officers Seek Showdown on Political Nominees

By John M. Goshko

Washington Post Service

WASHINGTON — The American Foreign Service Association intends to oppose President Bill Clinton's nomination of a fellow Arkansian, Brady Anderson, to be U.S. ambassador in Tanzania. But instead of complaining that Mr. Anderson lacks credentials, the association acknowledges that he is well qualified to serve as ambassador to Tanzania.

What bothers the professional organization, which acts as the bargaining agent for the Foreign Service, is that Mr. Anderson's nomination is the latest White House move to replace career-officer ambassadors, who have been in their embassies only a short time, with political appointees. In the association's view, this practice threatens the unwritten but long-standing rule that a U.S. ambassador's normal tour of duty should be three years.

When Mr. Clinton became president, Secretary of State Warren M. Christopher promised that the new administration would not use ambassadors as payoffs to campaign workers and contributors.

According to the association, the ratio of career to noncareer ambassadors now is about 3 to 1, but officials of the association fear that the administration's apparent tendency to ignore the three-year rule might begin a trend toward too many ambassadorial spots going to outside appointees.

In addition, the group and many Foreign Service officers say, changing ambassadors in Tanzania now is especially ill-advised because the brutal tribal warfare in neighboring Rwanda has sent a flood of refugees into Tanzania. With the U.S. Embassy in Rwanda shut down by the fighting, the embassy in Tanzania has become Washington's principal outpost for following the Rwandan situation.

For the past year, the U.S. ambassador in Tanzania has been Peter J. De Vos, who earned a reputation as the State Department Africa bureau's best crisis manager during ambassadorial stints in Mozambique and Liberia, two racked by bloody civil wars. Now, department sources note, instead of bringing his experience with African refugee problems to bear on the Rwanda

situation, he is heading to the University of New Mexico as a diplomat-in-residence, in order to make way for Mr. Anderson.

Mr. Anderson has known Mr. Clinton since the late 1970s. Mr. Anderson also spent about four years in Tanzania and other parts of East Africa as a missionary and Bible translator. He speaks Swahili, which, along with English, is Tanzania's official language.

"He is someone who obviously knows and cares a lot about Africa, and normally we would have no objection if he were given a posting when another African embassy became vacant," said the association's president, F.A. (Tex) Harris.

"But no matter how much you know, it still takes months at best to become comfortable with an ambassador's duties and fit them to a particular country. And in this case it makes absolutely no sense to pull the guy best qualified to deal with the biggest crisis in Africa and replace him with a rookie."

Mr. Anderson, contacted in Arkansas, would not comment until his confirmation process was completed, most likely next month. He referred inquiries to the State Department, but neither officials there nor at the White House personnel office would comment.

The Anderson nomination was the third time in the past year that a career officer was bumped early to make way for a political appointee.

William L. Swing, another of the Africa bureau's star performers, was replaced in Nigeria by Walter Carrington, a black officer who had worked on African affairs as a congressional staff member and Carter administration official. John C. Kornblum, the U.S. representative to the 33-nation Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, was dropped in favor of Sam Brown, an anti-war activist and former head of Action, the principal U.S. agency for administering volunteer service programs.

The displaced diplomats quickly made their way back to postings. Mr. Swing became ambassador to Haiti. Mr. Kornblum unexpectedly got an additional year in his job because partisan opposition has delayed Mr. Brown's confirmation. Mr. Kornblum has been named the special U.S. envoy for Cyprus.

## Haiti Military Braces for Total Embargo

By Howard W. French

New York Times Service

PORT-AU-PRINCE, Haiti — As a sweeping international embargo takes effect, Haiti's military leaders appear to be resolved to ride out the sanctions, convinced that the United States will not mount an armed intervention to unseat them.

The broadened embargo, pushed by a Clinton administration that has been increasingly exasperated by the Haitian military, covers all trade with the country except for medicines and certain foods.

A United Nations ban on shipments of fuel and arms has been in place since October.

The action is aimed at forcing the military to surrender power and make way for the return of the

exiled president, the Reverend Jean-Bertrand Aristide.

Five American naval vessels and a number of Coast Guard cutters are patrolling the waters around Haiti to enforce the embargo, but the smuggling of fuel from the Dominican Republic, which shares the Caribbean island of Hispaniola with Haiti, has remained active.

[The United States said Monday that experts were reviewing with the Dominican Republic ways of enforcing new sanctions against Haiti, but acknowledged it currently had no way of plugging leaks in the embargo, Reuters reported from Washington.]

[Asked what would happen if the Dominican Republic refused to cooperate with the embargo, the State Department spokesman, Mike McCurry, said: "If they lack the

will, then they face the resolve of the international community to see that they live up to their obligations and that they know there are consequences for not living up to those obligations."

Even in backing the wider embargo, which was enacted by the Security Council and went into effect at midnight Saturday, the Clinton administration acknowledged that the measure might not be enough to bring about Father Aristide's return.

Haiti's military leaders have defiantly used the two-week grace period between the Security Council's unanimous vote on May 6 and the application of the sanctions to put together a new civilian government, naming an 81-year-old Supreme Court justice, Emil Jonassaint, as provisional president.

People close to the junta say Lieutenant General Raoul Cedras, the army commander who presided over the coup that deposed Father Aristide in September 1991, has been busy working on plans for new elections to be held in the fall.

Rather than resign to defuse the crisis, associates of General Cedras say, he is contemplating a run for the presidency himself, and would be replaced in the army command by his closest aide, General Philippe Blamby.

## 4 Aristide Backers Slain

Gunmen shot up part of the pro-democracy stronghold of Cité Soleil before dawn on Monday, killing four men, The Associated Press reported. Neighbors said all four victims had been members of a neighborhood committee working for Father Aristide's return.

## Fingerprint Fraud Gives Aliens an Open Door

New York Times Service

WASHINGTON — Convicted criminals from other countries, or even terrorists, may have been granted residency or other benefits in the United States because they were able to circumvent background checks with fraudulent fingerprints bought from street vendors.

According to an inspector general's report on the Immigration and Naturalization Service, the service requires fingerprints from every alien seeking naturalization or other federal benefits but the Justice Department report noted, it is the responsibility of the alien to supply the prints because the immigration service no longer maintains a fingerprinting operation of its own.

Once the agency receives a set of prints, it

sends them to the Federal Bureau of Investigation for background checks.

When an alien applies for naturalization, the immigration agency directs him to local professional fingerprinting services. But when the person submits his prints, the agency has no way of knowing if they are genuine.

The result, according to the Inspector General's Office of the Justice Department, is a growing illicit business in false fingerprints that immigrants can buy from vendors, sometimes for less than \$10.

If the FBI cannot match the submitted prints to those in its records, the immigration agency may grant an applicant the benefits he is seeking, like residency or refugee status.

Last year 866,313 aliens applied for federal

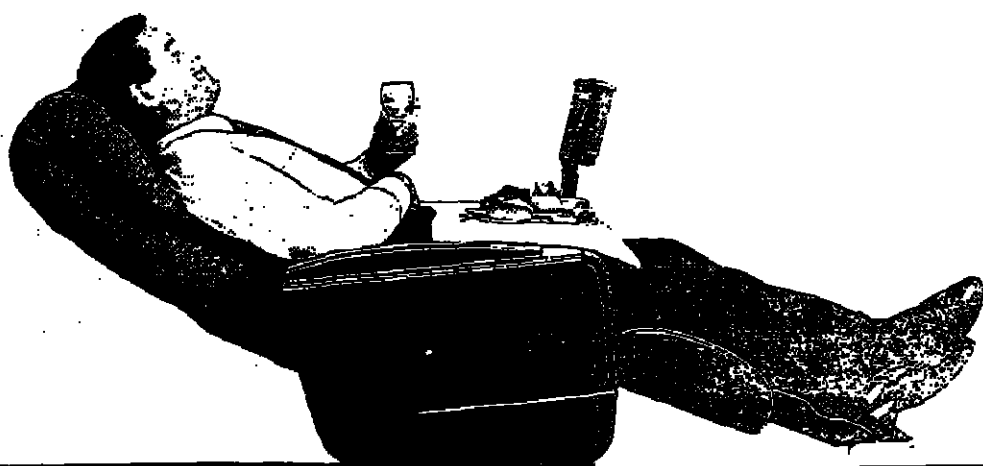
benefits, and of those, about 9,000 convicted felons were turned down based on the FBI's findings.

Because of the possibility of false prints, immigration officials said, they had no idea how many more applicants should have been rejected.

The report recommends that the immigration agency begin procedures to verify that fingerprints submitted by an applicant actually belong to that person.

After terrorists with criminal backgrounds exploded a bomb in an underground garage at the World Trade Center in New York in February 1993, the immigration agency was severely criticized for having let them slip through the system.

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# The American Dynamic: Shaped by Countless Landings at Home

By Richard Reeves

Special to the Herald Tribune

The writer is a syndicated columnist whose most recent book is "President Kennedy — Profile of Power."

For Americans familiar with D-Day, the "landing" is a potent component of the event in the Normandy beaches. It triggers flashbacks of GIs wading through the surf, rifles held high as they splashed into North Africa, then Europe, at Anzio, onto Japanese-held islands in the Pacific — later even at Inchon in a new war, this one in Korea against communism.

These landings became an icon of America's liberating power, incarnating the notion of America making the world safe for democracy. The boys were bringing freedom to lands that had lost it or never known it.

It remains a peculiarly American image, with legs carrying the story into the tragic mistakes at the Bay of Pigs and Cam Ranh Bay and the tragedies in Grenada, then Somalia.

For better or worse, it is always a story of an American crusade, when our society is summoned to moral mobilization. That makes it an exception in a country that often appears on the brink of meltdown, with so much energy running loose in the social reactor.

Unlike nations that think their citizens belong to them, this country belongs to the people who live here, to do something with. As a result, every American has a story, 250 million of them. But all the stories are the same, only the names, the dates and the scenes change.

We each begin our story with the landing — at Plymouth Rock, at Ellis Island, in a slave ship from Africa, or at John F. Kennedy International Airport.

Leaving aside "Native Americans," as we pushed them aside a couple of hundred years ago when they were called "Indians," every man's and every woman's history begins with immigrant landings. All are tales told with variations on themes of hope and ambition and luck, or fear and suspicion of the new.

My mother-in-law's American story began with the trip from a tiny farm in the west of Ireland to Ellis Island in 1929. Or so I thought, until we stood together four years ago on that island in New York Harbor and I asked her whether it was different from the way she remembered it.

"I've never been here before," said Bridget Ruddy Vesey.

"What?"

"My boat landed first on the West Side docks in Manhattan," she said. "The English-speaking people were let off there. Then they took the shawl people to Ellis Island."

The shawl people. She meant the Poles, the Russians, some Italians, Germans, the Jews. She went to join her sister in an immigrant neighborhood in Woodside, Queens, a suburb of Manhattan. The immigrants living there were Irish and some Italians then.

She still lives there, though her children and grandchildren are in Dallas and Los Angeles and Chicago. And Woodside is still an immigrant neighborhood, filled with Koreans, Indians and Pakistanis — "new" immigrants who saved and energized a tired neighborhood for the old Irish widows.

So it goes for America, as it always has.

Many Americans, some in very high places, are convinced that the United States cannot (or should not) take any more of the new immigrants from Latin America and Asia.

Maybe these critics are right, though I doubt it. Certainly they are in good company. Thomas Jefferson wanted a country of honest yeomen, different from the denizens of the "seeming cities of Europe." Benjamin Franklin complained about the Germans coming to Philadelphia, saying: "Why should Pennsylvania, founded by the English, become a Colony of Aliens? ... (They) swarm into our settlements and by herding together establish their language and manners to the exclusion of ours."

Similar current complaints come from our modern Franklins, as they would surely like to

## Fifty Years After D-Day



These are the eighth and ninth articles in a series on the future of the American-European relationship. Subsequent articles will appear weekly until June 6.

see themselves, whose forebears were probably German. Probably German, it's fair to say, partly because over the centuries Germany appears to have been the origin of more immigrants here than any other country and partly because it has always gone this way for America, with newcomers challenging earlier groups.

These modern Franklins complain that the Mexicans and Vietnamese and the rest are making the United States into a "non-European" country.

No doubt. But at least as many social analysts question what it is about Europe that is so sacred. Better to have America continuing to accept enough of the huddled masses to continue to reflect the world as it really is.

Perhaps it is better, too, to join the world by receiving exotics rather than send our own young people out to Bosnia-Herzegovina. That terrain is already too familiar.

Maybe America as microcosm of the world is the surest way to enact our messianic message. Maybe instead of landing our values on others' shores, we can bring the world into our nation. Our movies do it, our cuisine does it — and it may be more than just shopping. It may be that our ability to manage our territory is the way America goes ahead. It may be that our diversity, our ethnic brew, is our source of wealth.

George Gilder was at least half right in saying: "I don't know who lost the Vietnam War, but I know who won it: We did because we got the 'boat people.'"

No European would make that boast, not even about the pioneer stock that came home with the long tide of receding empire. Not the French about *piéds noirs*, not British about Asians or Hong Kong Chinese, not Germans about their distant Eastern kith. Scandinavians

see no added value in refugees, no matter how much more worldly and cosmopolitan they are than their hosts.

The brawn of immigrants may be unavoidable, but their brains are rarely considered to merit full membership in an oligarchy, however far democratized, where the rule of seniority is never far from people's minds. In crisis, the last corners can be jettisoned from the European vessel whereas America reacts by ignoring social frontiers to tap new energies. That fundamental difference in our reflexes is particularly acute right now.

Even as many Euro-centric Americans complain about new manners and languages spoiling the American grain, they also seem in many cases to be giving up on Europe. A series of articles on immigrants in Europe from the south and east into Britain, France, Germany Italy — "the old country" for us — started this month in the San Francisco Chronicle with this contemptuous headline: "Europe Trembles at the Shock of the New."

America still does not tremble — at least not yet — but we do babble about the pros and cons of "diversity" and "multiculturalism." It's a debate that Europeans feel they need not (or dare not) bother with for themselves. Some here agree. That phrase, "the shock of the New," is an unwitting tribute to a landmark book of art history with the same title by Robert Hughes (an eminent American critic who immigrated here from Australia). In his most recent book, "The Culture of Complaint," Mr. Hughes argues powerfully that American deference to the difference rather than to emerged excellence is making the fiery melting pot, crucible of the American dream, into a plastic simulation, mere virtual reality.

True enough, there is a dynamic at work, with groups coalescing in self-identification around a common claim to victimhood. The tactic copies the civil rights movement against anti-black discrimination, a defining experience in the American decades since World War II.

The United States is not, however, driven by philosophy or even sociology, no matter how crude and plausible. Money is our fuel. It is a deeply ingrained ideal — society, a level pinball table, where newcomers stand practically as good a chance as those who have been playing for a long time.

In a casino, the bank is only as big as the pot provided by players. Americans no longer believe that any part of them, as a group, can really weather economic havoc that engulfs the nation. So they have generally been readier than other countries to gamble, again and again, on a big change. Only a new wave can lift all boats.

"Young Immigrant Wave Lifts New York Economy" was the headline over a recent series of articles in The New York Times, the dominant newspaper in a city where 7.5 million inhabitants include 2.6 million foreign-born, including the new young families in Woodside, Queens.

The truth is that part of what still makes the U.S. flexible and immigration tolerable is that many, many business and financial players and commentators believe immigration is still profitable traffic.

This belief has a respectable face, celebrated

in these terms by Business Week magazine: "The U.S. is reaping a bonanza of highly educated foreigners ... [while] low-end immigrants provide a hardworking labor force to fill the low-paid jobs that make a modern service economy run."

That quote fits a view in the country's leading magazine of history, American Heritage, in which the author Bernard A. Weisberger concluded: "We are different ... Immigration is flesh of our flesh, and we need to be reminded of that."

He could get an argument, of course, particularly from politicians sincerely scapegoating immigration as a principal cause for our most recent economic dislocations.

Pete Wilson, governor of California, is now attempting to sue the federal government for \$3 billion, his reckoning of the cost his state bears as the nation's largest receiver of the new immigrants from Central and Latin America.

Indeed, if one is curious to see what the United States might look like in 50 years, let us see Stanford, when Bernard Kouchner was denounced by members of the French medical establishment hoping to block his appointment in Paris, he announced he would go to Harvard. Of course, Europe still appears as a pleasant place to live. But, increasingly, Europe seems used up, at least by our lights. And fewer Europeans want to live where the streets once paved with gold are now lined by the homeless.

And American attention is elsewhere, looking west and south. Politically, the North American Free Trade Agreement is a self-interested commitment to push Third World poverty back as far as possible from the Rio Grande. The tilt is not absolute: To defuse economic

frictions, a similar free-trade zone is under consideration between the United States and Europe.

The shift in focus occurs at a more fundamental level, I thought I glimpsed the future, or part of it, one day in Tokyo in spring 1987. I was at the Keidanren, Japan's business-financed economic think tank. Susumu Tonegawa had just become the first native-born Japanese to receive the Nobel Prize in medicine; the young violinist Midori had recently made her debut to the world's cries of ecstacy.

What worried the man I was seeing, Kazuo Nakazawa, economic director of the institute, was that both the scientist and the musician, the best of their generations, had accomplished their triumphant achievements not in Japan but in the United States. Dr. Tonegawa was doing genetic research at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Midori was at Lincoln Center in New York.

Both had come to America because that is where the young do not have to defer to their elders.

"By the year 2000 and beyond," Mr. Nakazawa said, "our best young people will be moving to places like Austin in Texas and Richmond in Oregon to have the freedom to do their own thing."

For America's sake I hope he turns out to be right. But if they do come as immigrants, sooner or later they will be complaining that never immigrants are changing the face of America. Already, American orchestras are getting a bigger Asian intake of Koreans than of Japanese, who are now the old wave.

It was over thus. Who ever wanted America to look old and tired?



BAYEUX TAPESTRY — British, Canadian and American flags hanging Monday in Bayeux, Normandy, awaiting D-Day events.

## Liberating Europe From Nationalism Will Not Be Easy

By Jonathan Eyal

Mr. Eyal is director of studies at the Royal United Services Institute in London.

Soon after the collapse of the Berlin Wall, a high-ranking Western politician privately told his colleagues that, from then on, the West's policy would be dictated by one major aim: a refusal to either export soldiers or import instability from the East. Few propositions seemed more compelling, yet few were more foolish.

Less than five years after the demise of communism, Western soldiers have been exported to Yugoslavia in large numbers and to no particular purpose. More important, the disaster in the Balkans is now highlighting the historic difference between America and Europe. For the United States, nationalism is a disease that must be fought at all costs; for the Europeans, the nation-state remains the only viable political entity. And while the Americans view multiculturalism as a source of strength, the Europeans dismiss it as the way to perdition.

To be sure, the distinctions are not always so stark: despite decades of efforts, America's melting pot is still a goal, rather than an absolute reality. And by creating a Union, the West Europeans have indicated a desire to leave their nationalism behind. Nevertheless, while multiculturalism is the United States' *raison d'être* (being an

American is a legal, not an ethnic concept), Europeans hesitate to try similar ideas on their Continent.

In contrast to postwar visions of unity transcending old nationalistic enmities, Europe is experiencing two nationalist waves at the same time: one in the former Communist East and another in the West. Despite their differing levels of intensity, both are eminently treatable, but only if the West accepts that the end of the Cold War requires profound transformations on both sides of the former Iron Curtain.

Multithetic dreams are collapsing on both sides of Europe, and the initial post-Communist optimism quickly gave way to dark predictions about seemingly inevitable Darwinian struggles between nations and cultures. If the consequences of the nationalist challenges are ignored for much longer, if disputes are allowed to fester, the cumulative effects of impending conflicts could dissolve both Europe's security arrangements and the trans-Atlantic connection as well.

The root of Eastern Europe's ethnic problems is clearly historic. In the West, the formation of states was gradual and lengthy; in the East, it was sudden and fairly recent. In the West, states were created by the progressive enlargement of a central government; in the East, states were born out of the collapse of multiethnic empires, still consider it a malaise.

While in the West ethnic diversity is now at least officially accepted, the East Europeans, born out of the collapse of multiethnic empires, still consider it a malaise.

The differences are more apparent than real. Eastern Europe is doing better than expected and the all-pervasive gloom on the Continent is exaggerated. Since the end of the Cold War, three states, Yugoslavia, the Soviet Union and Czechoslovakia, collapsed. Far from representing a pattern, they were the exception in Europe, representing countries in which the very ethnic identity of the state remained unresolved. Poland and the Czech Republic have no significant minorities at all; Romania, Bulgaria and Slovakia do, but they still are recognizable states for the Romanians, Bulgarians and Slovaks. And despite the occasional chauvinist baiting, all have displayed a surprising degree of responsibility. Having been terrorized by the Communist regime, Bulgarian Turks now hold the balance of power in their country's Parliament, and relations between Romania and Hungary, otherwise historic enemies, are particularly close in the least expected field: military cooperation. The idea that the states of Central and Eastern Europe are about to plunge into ethnic violence is a myth.

Nevertheless, the former Soviet empire may well be destined for further turmoil and the West still has no workable policy on Russia. The idea that former Soviet republics should remain independent but

that the West would do nothing to reinvent the wheel, in practice, they have merely managed to go back to the period before 1914, when borders were not so important and population controls barely existed.

Even after the Maastricht Treaty, political legitimacy remains firmly entrenched in the nation-state, not in the Brussels institution, and the trends are becoming more, rather than less, accented: Two-thirds of Community citizens participated in the 1979 European Parliament elections; barely over half did so a decade later.

More important, the conduct of nationalist policies through the guise of internationalist rhetoric is no longer working. Western Europe successfully assimilated large numbers of refugees at the end of World War II. But none of the fundamental assumptions behind the existence of the nation-state have been overturned. To be a German today is still a question of blood, not one of residence. A Russian citizen from Kazakhstan may have a better claim to a German passport than a Turk born and bred in Germany. And everyone still believes that only the migrant, and not the receiving country, benefits from population movements.

Publicly denying it all the way, of course, Western politicians still believe that preserving ethnic purity is the best guarantee of internal stability. Not even Germany's Chancellor Helmut Kohl, France's President François Mitterrand now dare talk about a federal Europe. Instead, governments either try to introduce a "federal" Europe by stealth (usually at the price of ignoring the needs of the East Europeans, especially on trade) or plusher to nationalism at home by sealing frontiers and controlling immigration. France, which prides itself on supporting "Europe," still claims to represent an ethnically pure nation, and while ratifying the Treaty of Maastricht, has introduced a curious amendment to its constitution proclaiming French as the country's only official language. And Britain's John Major wraps himself in the flag every time Brussels is mentioned.

The United States was largely created by people who, for one reason or another, chose to leave their nationalism behind. Given their unique history, therefore, for the Americans ethnic problems are essentially social problems, not international security issues. Questioning existing frontiers is therefore a bewildering experience for a U.S. administration, and its officials usually tend to react by dismissing these as a historic irrelevance, difficulties deliberately fomented by unscrupulous leaders. President George Bush's desperate efforts to keep the Soviet Union or Yugoslavia together are manifestations of this tendency.

The nationalism on both halves of the Continent is not yet a carbon copy of the movements that tore Europe asunder in the past. Indeed, the Community's fathers thought that they had banished nationalism; in fact, they only managed to render the idea intellectually less respectable, and even then, for only a relatively brief period.

To all intents and purposes, those who like to call themselves European "federalists" are not dreaming of an American model but, rather, of a European nation-state with large, complete with highly centralized powers and institutions. And, the more their plans were derailed by the end of the Cold War, the more they persisted. The result was predictable: a nationalist backlash. In member states, and a set of meaningless gestures, such as the adoption of a joint anthem, color-coordinated customs corridors at airports and a single passport cover. The European

protection minorities, a double legacy from Cold War propaganda campaigns and from the domestic action 40 years ago abandoning the "separate but legal" notion in favor of the melting pot ideal. Few other Western governments are prepared to countenance such an international protection system either. Denying the fate of ethnic Hungarians or Russians is one thing; devising a mechanism that protects everyone, including Corsicans, Basques or Irish Catholics, is quite another matter altogether. Proposals abound, for "confederations," associations and "partnerships," but, in practice, the Europeans are

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there is nothing that would appeal to the East Europeans more than the process of Continental integration, and even in the West, most of today's nationalists accept that there is little alternative to close cooperation with neighbors. European integration is not a zero-sum game. The question of form and substance is a proper and pertinent subject of debate.

The Atlantic community that came into existence as a result of Europe's liberation from Nazi tyranny has reached the end of history in the sense that the values of tolerance and strong, durable democratic traditions seem permanently entrenched. Europe's neo-Nazi movements, despite their current publicity, may represent nothing more than the return of history as a comedy. Indeed, the absence of a clear West European, such as the Jews, who contributed so much to Europe's diversity before the catastrophe of World War II, is likely to make such movements merely ephemeral: Anti-Semitism without the Jews has been tried before, but it is not a long-term proposition.

However, as the example of Yugoslavia indicates, the Europeans still need U.S. cooperation in tackling their current problems. Especially in the East, the options are clear. Either the borders are rendered less important through cooperation and integration into existing structures, or they will ultimately start shifting. And nothing is guaranteed to separate America from Europe more than an unstoppable debate about the importance of nationalism. In short, the task of liberating Europe, begun on D-Day 50 years ago, must be completed now.

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## JUNE 5-11, 1944 SEVEN DAYS THAT CHANGED THE WORLD.

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# UN Aborts Rwanda Mission

Agence France-Press  
NAIROBI — A special United Nations envoy called off a road trip to Kigali on Monday despite a shaky truce in the Rwandan capital, saying neither rebels nor government forces could guarantee his security. He decided to try and fly in on Tuesday.

The envoy, Iqbal Riza, was to continue discussions to pave the way for the return of UN peacekeepers to stop nearly seven weeks of ethnic massacres.

"We did not obtain explicit guarantees from the two parties about his safety," the spokesman, Abdul Kabia, said by telephone from Kigali. He said Mr. Riza had returned to Uganda, but would try to fly into Kigali from the Kenyan capital, Nairobi, on Tuesday.

Fighting raged after a night of heavy shelling and the capture of the Kigali airport and a key army barracks Sunday by rebels in their biggest victory in six weeks of fighting.

Mr. Kabia said both sides had agreed to a two-day truce to allow Mr. Riza to hold talks with rebel and government leaders on plans to deploy 5,500 UN troops to end the slaughter in which up to a half-million people have died.

"There are occasional exchanges of fire, but there's a lot less fighting than usual and so we consider that the truce is being respected," Mr. Kabia said.

# GERMANY: A Boost for Kohl

Continued from Page 1  
rubber bullets and forcing arrested demonstrators to pay police costs as a condition of their release. But as a judge on the Constitutional Court, where he has served since 1983, he pleaded liberals by ruling that demonstrations cannot be banned simply because the police have information that some demonstrators are violence-prone.

At times during his campaign, Mr. Herzog expressed surprisingly liberal views, as when he urged repeal of Germany's restrictive citizenship law, which is based on race. But he drew sharp criticism by saying that foreign residents of Germany who choose not to become citizens should be sent home. Later he said his remarks had been misinterpreted.

The only traditional conservative in the race was Mr. Kohl's first choice, Steffen Heitmann, who is justice minister in the eastern state of Saxony. Mr. Heitmann was forced to abandon his campaign after voicing provocative views on foreigners, the Holocaust and the role of women in society.

The other candidates in the race were Jens Reich, a microbiologist and co-organizer of the movement that brought down Communist rule in East Germany, who withdrew after receiving just 62 votes in the first round of voting; Hildegard Hamm-Brücher of the centrist Free Democrats, who withdrew (following the second round after receiving 126 votes); and, in a surprise candidacy announced Sunday, Hans Hirtzel of the far-right Republicans.

There were eight Republican delegates at the assembly. Mr. Hirtzel's best showing was 12 votes in the first round.



Chancellor Kohl, left, applauding his choice, Mr. Herzog, right.

# VIETNAM: Fear's Subtle Shadow

Continued from Page 1  
customers before the fall of Saigon in 1975, and like many Vietnamese with American contacts, they were subjected by the Communists to severe hardships.

Amnesty International, Human Rights Watch, PEN American Center, the Roman Catholic and Buddhist churches and the U.S. State Department, among other organizations, are sharply critical of Vietnam's disregard of Western perspectives on human rights. But criticism makes Hanoi bristle.

Le Mai, deputy foreign minister for American affairs, said that "foreigners who come here to press their ideas about human rights on Vietnam are not welcome."

The Communists overturned society in South Vietnam when they conquered the country in 1975, and deep scars remain.

Most of the hundreds of thousands who had served in South Vietnam's armed forces were sentenced to terms of up to 15 years in the re-education camps, where duties included breaking rocks and clearing mine fields.

Store owners and landholders were thrown into the streets, and their belongings were confiscated. In some cases they were shipped to the "new economic zones" — drought-stricken wilderness in the scrub jungles of Song Be Province and similar regions — where they were expected to farm and to feed themselves.

Foreign critics of the government acknowledge that some of those arrested have been terrorists, who are not considered "prisoners of conscience."

Early last year the police arrested 18 overseas Vietnamese who returned to Vietnam and were accused of plotting to set off bombs in the country. The defendants, who included several U.S. citizens, were sentenced to terms ranging from 15 to 20 years.

Vietnam's Communist Party sees a much greater potential challenge to its authority from some of the country's Buddhist monks, and the government has responded vigorously. Hanoi is aware that most Vietnamese are at least nominal Buddhists, and even under Communism, Buddhist monks have immense influence.

One year ago, exactly 30 years after Buddhist monks began a campaign that ended in the overthrow and death of President Ngo Dinh Diem in South Vietnam, a new generation of monks threw a scare into the Hanoi government.

The episode began in May 1993, when a man entered the Linh Pagoda in Hue, set himself on fire and burned to death.

The incident recalled the fiery 1963 protest suicide of the monk Thich Quang Duc in Saigon, an incident that ignited a nationwide wave of unrest.

# PEACE: Arabs and Israelis Wake Up to a New Era

Continued from Page 1  
fruits of peace, which they hope will mean less money to the military and more to economic development, as well as a freer rein for Damascus' legendary entrepreneurial spirit, stifled for decades by President Hafez Assad's Soviet-style socialist regime.

"Syria is the only country which has decided to live by spending 30 percent of its national income on the military," said Sami Nadhaf, 57, a prosperous businessman from Damascus. "This was not for its self-interest but because of its faith in Arab causes." He added, "If peace takes place, a great pressure will be lifted off my country."

Once Israel has withdrawn from Syria's Golan Heights, Ghazi Ayyash, a Syrian auto-parts importer, will have no compunction about visiting Israel. "Why not?" he said. "If everything is normal and we don't have a peace of violence and vanquished."

"When I visit Israel," he said, "I want to visit it with full honor and not to feel my dignity is compromised."

"But you are going to find it extremely difficult to find the person who will be the first to apply for an import license from Israel," he said. "This needs bravery," he added, exploding with laughter.

Indicative of the challenges to the Arab psyche posed by a new relationship with Israel are the often expressed Arab fears of competing economically with Israel. Such reactions come mainly from ignorance, said an Egyptian political analyst, Abdel Monem Said.

"If an enemy you make a myth," he said, "there is a lot of ignorance about Israel."

# RECOVERY: U.S. Set to Welcome Slower Growth

Continued from Page 1  
the Northeast still depressed and other areas, such as the Rocky Mountain area, experiencing booming growth. But there have been signs of a modest upturn lately in California, and economists expect the strong national conditions increasingly to pull along the weaker areas.

If these rosy forecasts prove accurate — and they basically are similar to those of Mr. Clinton's administration and a number of Federal Reserve officials — the predicted lower growth rates would allow Mr. Clinton to run for reelection in 1996 with a strong economic record.

By then, the economy would have been close to full employment for three years, corporate profits and real after-tax incomes would have been rising strongly, accompanied by only moderate inflation. Unexpected shocks could of course come at any time, but the forces currently at work in the economy appear likely to produce slower growth rather than another recession in the foreseeable future, Mr. Meyer and the other forecasters said.

# Buddhist Suicide Threat

Exiled Buddhist activists said Monday that 49 dissident Buddhists had threatened to commit suicide by self-immolation next Wednesday but that their leader had appealed to them not to do so, Reuters reported in Paris.

The Vietnamese government denied there had been any suicide threat and also denied a report by the International Buddhist Information Bureau in Paris that four dissident monks were on hunger strike in prison.

The Buddhist information bureau said 49 dissident monks, nuns and lay people had written to their leader, Thich Huynh Quang, asking for permission to burn themselves to death on Wednesday, anniversary of the Buddha's death.

# JIHAD: Israel Asks Commitment

Continued from Page 1  
the spot. Mr. Tibi said that there was no need for a clarification and that Mr. Arafat had made the comparison to show that Muslims kept their commitments.

But the new disclosure generated harsh criticism from Israel's rightist critics of the peace accord.

Police Minister Moshe Shabai, speaking for the government, told Parliament, "If terrorist attacks continue and Arafat continues making unfortunate statements that contradict the peace accord, we will continue talking to the Palestinians, but we will not implement the next steps."

Environment Minister Yossi Sarid of the dovish Meretz bloc said that Mr. Arafat had created a "crisis of confidence" and that the PLO leader had "to declare that his grave and regrettable words in the mosque in Johannesburg are null and void."

"He must declare again his commitment to the accord with Israel," Mr. Sarid said.

Prime Minister Rabin, questioned by reporters about Mr. Arafat's statements, snapped, "Let him check who is the stronger."

Dan Meridor, a moderate Likud member of Parliament, said: "If two or three days after signing the agreement, and having this ridiculous ceremony, Mr. Arafat then says, 'I tell you in advance I am not going to keep it,' the question is, What is left of the government's assumptions? The government's policy? Ruins. Nothing. I don't know how you can go on with the agreement if the other side tells you very clearly, outspokenly, that they are not going to keep the agreement." He added, "Are we really out of our minds?"

Reflecting the concern of Israel's security establishment over the chaotic early days of the Palestinian police force deployment, Mr. Shabai, the police minister, added that the process could not move ahead on the ground "until the PLO proves its ability to govern Gaza and Jericho."

According to both Israeli and Palestinian officials, the Palestinian police in Gaza and Jericho are short of food, fuel and equipment. Nabil Shaath, the chief Palestinian negotiator, brought about \$300,000 with him into Gaza last week, but Palestinians have said the shortages have prevented them from completely taking control of Gaza and Jericho.

# YEN: South Korea Helped by Japan's Strong Currency

Continued from Page 1  
even the Japanese market, which has been tight for Korean companies to penetrate, is opening somewhat. In the first quarter, South Korea's exports to Japan rose 12.4 percent after having fallen for three straight years.

The rise of the yen also has produced benefits through other Asian countries, most of which have currencies that are loosely pegged to the dollar.

The mechanism works differently in different countries. Like South Korea, other relatively advanced countries, such as Taiwan and Singapore, benefit from having their products gain a price advantage against Japanese ones.

But the effect is somewhat smaller than in South Korea, some economists said, because these countries have fewer heavy industries that compete directly with Japan.

For the less advanced countries of Southeast Asia and for China, the benefit of the high yen comes from Japanese companies themselves, which are shifting their manufacturing to these countries to escape the high costs in Japan.

Still, some economists say the importance of the yen's rise should not be exaggerated. "Certainly it has had some positive impact, but I don't think that it's a major factor," said Nam Sang Woo, senior fellow at the Korea Development Institute, a government-sponsored research organization.

Mr. Nam said that the strong yen only helped exports, which account for 25 percent to 30 percent of South Korea's economy. Some of that increase has resulted from the U.S. economic recovery and fast growth in Asia. He said the main reason for South Korea's recovery was a cyclical resurgence in investment by companies in new plants and equipment.

Others noted that the yen's rise was a mixed blessing. Industry in South Korea is highly dependent on advanced components and production machinery from Japan — such as robots and machine tools, wafer steppers for making computer chips and optical pickups for compact disk players.

With a stronger yen, those Japanese products, for which there is often no substitute, become more expensive.

Because of this, as South Korea's overall exports grow, its imports from Japan grow. In the first quarter of this year, imports from Japan rose 21.6 percent, almost twice as much as South Korea's exports to Japan.

# Quakes Rock Mexico City

MEXICO CITY — Two earthquakes within a few seconds shook Mexico City, rocking buildings, Sunday evening and alarming residents but causing no injuries or damage, witnesses and emergency workers said.

# KRAKOW: No Golden Arches

Continued from Page 1  
the side street and offered to sublet the front space to a bookstore so that pedestrians on the square would see literature, not hamburgers.

But there is firm resistance from the city conservator, Andrzej Gaczol, a 46-year-old architect who said that he had read outside opinions for and against the outlet. He has twice rejected McDonald's request, most recently on April 14.

"In every version they have shown me, their plans impinge on the structure of the building," Mr. Gaczol said. "I told them if they changed their plans and limited it to a coffeehouse, we would probably have no objection."

Mr. Gaczol rules on the admissibility of changes to the city's buildings according to provisions of a national law protecting monuments and art. He insisted that his decision had been made on narrow, not cultural, grounds.

Because McDonald's wanted to cover a large courtyard to create a new floor and provide shelter for patrons, its plans altered the building's structure, he said.

The building was once the town house of Polish beer scions. During the Nazi occupation, it was the headquarters of the German military. It is now owned by a former Communist trading cooperative.

Because the Germans renovated the building, Mr. Gaczol said, it is in better structural shape than many others in the city.

"McDonald's exaggerates the contribution it makes to renovations," he said, dismissing the company's argument that it was helping the city by doing up the building. "On Florianska Street, where they have their restaurant, the city did the heavy structural work of renewing the foundations and the roof."

If McDonald's really wants to contribute to the restoration of Krakow, Mr. Gaczol said, it should consider a more rundown property near the railroad station, which he described as better for business anyway. But he said that McDonald's appeared to be interested in the prestige of Krakow's architectural soul.

The company still can appeal to officials in Warsaw, the capital.

Another drawback of the higher yen is that many companies in Asia, as well as Asian governments, have debts denominated in yen. As the yen has gained strength, payments of interest and principal have become more onerous in terms of the local currency.

Korean officials said problems still remained in their economy. Spurred by the shift toward democracy in the late 1980s, which gave new voice to workers, wages have more than doubled in the past five years, Mr. Lim said.

An average Korean auto worker produces only 20 to 25 cars a year, while a Japanese worker produces 45, according to an analysis by Weekly Chosun, a Korean magazine. Were it not for lower wages and cheaper raw materials, Korea would not be able to compete with Japan.

Japan's trade surplus with East Asia exceeded its surplus with the United States last year for the first time.

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# Herald Tribune

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## Coping With Derivatives

Derivatives have come to symbolize everything that Washington finds spooky, incomprehensible and menacing about the financial markets. Congress, bruised by the costs of cleaning up the S&L fiasco, wonders uneasily whether the rapid growth of trading in derivatives will produce similar grief. At Congress's request, the General Accounting Office has published a report that is, on the whole, reassuring. It suggests some improvements in regulation but rings no alarm bells. As it says, derivatives serve a very useful purpose.

"Derivative" is the current term for a family of contracts — futures, options, swaps — that have been traded for decades. The GAO came across one illustration in a bank whose customers in Japan wanted to nail down the price that they would pay (in yen) for oil some months in the future. First the bank sold the commodity markets to buy futures contracts (in dollars) for the delivery of the oil at those future dates. Then it turned to the currency market to buy yen futures. Companies use derivatives to insulate themselves from sudden swings in prices of commodities like oil and, more commonly, currency exchange rates and interest rates.

Derivatives can also be used for pure speculation. The GAO warns that in a crisis, federal intervention might be necessary. Does that

— THE WASHINGTON POST.

## Welfare Reform Options

Line up the three major plans for welfare reform and they appear, at first, nearly in sync. President Bill Clinton, the Mainstream Forum of conservative and centrist House Democrats and the House Republicans propose transforming welfare from a system that writes checks to a system that puts recipients to work. Look again and note this oddity: The centrist Democrats as well as Republicans want to spend more money than the president. That should require no ideological war to resolve.

But look more closely and differences emerge that cannot be easily bridged. The president's plan is shaping up as the only one of the three that combines compassion with sensible obligations.

The three plans would provide cash assistance for a temporary period, during which recipients would undergo training, education and job search. Then the able-bodied would be required to work at subsidized private- or public-sector jobs. Key differences arise over how to make work requirements, how to cover the costs and what support services to provide the poor and near-poor. The president's plan — whose final details will not be known until next month — would be firm but fair. The other two plans are unacceptably harsh and punitive.

**Limiting subsidized jobs.** The Mainstream Forum would require, and the Republicans would authorize, states to limit the duration of government-subsidized jobs. Once the time limit expired, recipients would have to fend for themselves. President Clinton has not decided whether to take this step. He should resist. Parents who train and work faithfully should not be abandoned if, for no fault of their own, they cannot find unsubsidized work. Remember, young children are at risk.

**Making immigrants pay.** The president would raise most of the \$9.5 billion needed to pay for his plan by permanently extending the period, from three years to five, during which sponsors are financially responsible for keeping immigrants they help bring to the country off welfare. That is reasonable. But the Mainstream Forum bill (\$18 billion) and the Republican bill (\$12 billion) go much too far — stripping legal immigrants of welfare benefits. That would be an unconscionable blow to immigrants whose sponsors fall by the wayside.

**Paying for child care.** The working poor — parents who earn barely enough to escape poverty — need help paying for child care while they work. Otherwise they will be tempted, if not forced, to go back onto welfare. The Mainstream Forum faces up to this need; the Republicans ignore it. Mr. Clinton's plan lies disappointingly in between.

**Discouraging teen pregnancy.** The Mainstream Forum would cut off additional aid to mothers who give birth while on welfare and would require minors receiving cash assistance to live at home. The Republicans would impose similar prohibitions and worse; they would, for example, cut off cash assistance to teenage mothers of illegitimate children (although states could pass legislation to reinstate such benefits) and withhold full benefits until paternity was legally established — a process that can take a year or more. Mr. Clinton favors less onerous conditions, which is justified because once welfare rules are tightened out, recipients will have all the incentive they need to act responsibly.

Other welfare plans will emerge — including a promising one sponsored by Representative Robert Matsui, Democrat of California — neither the differences between the plans lies across an unbridgeable divide, nor will it be clear until Congress begins debate.

For everyone's sake, the advocates must focus less on what drives them apart than on their shared conviction, elegantly expressed by Professor Christopher Jencks of Northwestern University: "When people cannot find steady jobs, they can seldom afford to link their self-respect to their work."

Each plan seeks to guarantee welfare parents steady jobs, their children working parents as role models — and thereby help these families bolster the self-respect that lies at the core of responsible behavior.

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## A Spring to Remember

It says something about humankind's natural pessimism that blizzards and terrible winters are long remembered, even by their years, but glorious springs are not. Americans still unborn in Northeastern states are likely to hear in decades to come about the record snowfalls that blew in with winter '93. But what about the sequel? Why not a toast to the splendid spring of '94?

Rarely in memory have bulbs and wildflowers, shrubs and fruit trees blazed so brightly, or bloomed so long. First came purple and saffron crocuses in March, followed by a veritable sunburst of daffodils. Next were tulips, mingling with blazing plumes of forsythia. Lawns never seemed greener, and carpets of pink and white blossoms followed by a veritable sunburst of daffodils.

By May it was clear that this was a spring with a difference. Dogwoods seemed to jump to attention with an effusion of white and pink blossoms. Among perennials, bleeding hearts are early bloomers, and they seemed anxious to keep up with their neighbors. Lilacs vied with cherry blossoms not only in suburban front yards but in Manhattan's Central Park and in the Bronx's Hudson River showplace, Wave Hill.

Folk wisdom instructs that snow is the poor man's fertilizer, a carpet that protects plants from deep frost. But professionals have another explanation. It is a "magnificent spring," says Jean Wells, a landscape architect in Eastern Connecticut, because it was unusually cool. "That's why the tulips and daffodils lasted so long."

The downside is that potted trees on urban

— THE NEW YORK TIMES.

## Other Comment

### A Tide Toward Gun Control

Americans feel threatened by crime these days because their instincts and experiences tell them they are not safe. And they are not calmed by recent crime statistics that suggest a 3 percent drop in serious crimes and a 1 percent drop in violent crimes. They just do not believe the figures; they believe their instincts. The tide toward effective gun control won't calm down soon. America has not been acting responsibly with guns. That absolutely must change.

— Los Angeles Times.

## Join Germany's Effort to Widen Europe

By Max Jakobson

**HELSINKI** — The prospect of a widening of the European Union to include four new members from the beginning of 1995 has intensified the debate on decision making in Brussels. As in all institutions that have existed for any length of time, the insiders want to make sure that the newcomers will not be able to upset the way the place is run. This effort is what in European Union jargon is called "deepening."

More important than institutional arrangements, however, is the underlying balance of

**There is a crucial difference between Germany's past imperialist campaigns and its present Ostpolitik.**

power. Until now the Union has revolved around the Paris-Bonn axis. This functioned well as long as Bonn was the capital of a West European state — an economic giant but a political dwarf. But after unification, Germany no longer is a West European state — it is a European power, once again at the center of the Continent, with Berlin as its future capital. German leaders swear that they will remain faithful to their French allies, but strains will be inevitable.

The German role in the recent negotiations on the accession treaties with Austria, Finland, Norway and Sweden was a portent of things to come. German diplomats twisted arms mercilessly to make sure that agreement would be reached in time to enable the new members to enter the Union at the start of 1995. Subsequently, insistent German lobbying was behind the favorable vote on the accession treaties in the European Parliament in Strasbourg.

The entry of these four countries will not in itself change the fundamental character of the European Union. They are all stable democracies and relatively affluent market economies. They

will contribute to the Union budget more than they will receive from it. All have accepted the Maastricht treaty without reservations, including its provisions on a common foreign and security policy. The former neutrals no longer have inhibitions in this regard.

The reason why the Germans have been so anxious to prevent delay in admitting these four countries goes beyond the intrinsic importance of the new members. Their entry is the necessary first step in an eastward expansion of the Union. The accession of Austria and the three Nordic countries will shift the Union's geopolitical focus in this direction.

Vienna is the historical center of a region that includes the ancient European cities of Budapest, Prague, Bratislava and Ljubljana. Through Finland and Norway the Union will acquire a common border with Russia. From Helsinki on a clear day one can almost see the coastline of Estonia. The entire Baltic region will be embraced by the European Union.

This look at the map reveals what the logical next step should have to be: Hungary, Poland, the Czech Republic and possibly Slovakia and Slovenia, as well as Estonia, Latvia and Lithuania, will have to be drawn into the fold of the European Union. Obviously, these countries have a long way to go before they will be able to assume the economic responsibilities of membership. But if the will exists, a way can be found to bring them into the framework of political integration without much delay.

The German interest, shared by the four prospective new members, in such an expansion of the Union is obvious. Without it, Germany will remain a frontline state, always exposed to the fallout from the turmoil and conflicts in the eastern half of Europe. Against this, an enlargement of NATO would not provide sufficient defense. It would offer the Central and East European countries a tranquilizer, not a cure.

Only a gradual extension of the concept of economic, social and political integration so successfully applied in Western Europe can promote stability and prosperity in the eastern half of Europe and thereby create a reliable and lasting basis for the security of both halves.

Such a vision of the future of the European Union is consistent with its declared purpose. It has always claimed to be "Europe."

During the Cold War it had no choice but to remain an exclusively West European institution. Now at last it has an opportunity to make good the claim implied by its name.

But on the whole the Union remains emotionally and intellectually unprepared for this formidable challenge.

It is one thing to accommodate the Nordic countries and Austria; that can be managed within the existing system. Letting in a host of Central Europeans and Balts would require a fundamental restructuring of existing institutions — an undertaking repugnant to established bureaucracies.

More important, a further widening would be expensive. No new net contributors are in sight. Every extra member would compete with the Mediterranean states for a share of EU resources. Solidarity would be strained to the utmost.

Yet stagnation could be worse than the cost of expansion. It could endanger the original purpose of the European Community, which was to tie Germany into a web of interdependence with its Western neighbors.

Germany's *Drang nach Osten* understandably makes many people in Western Europe feel uneasy. There is, however, a crucial difference between Germany's past imperialist campaigns and its present Ostpolitik: Germany today is acting in the framework of the European Union.

It is in the interest of the other member states

to make sure that Germany will continue to do so.

This they can best achieve by joining Germany

in an effort to widen the Union into a truly European institution.

International Herald Tribune.

## Shelve the Federal Dream and Stand Europe Up

By Brian Beedham

**LONDON** — If Rodia were making a statue of today's Europe, it would be a crouched figure gazing spellbound into its navel, one hand frozen in a frenzied scratching of the head. This is how Europe looks to outsiders. It will not do, because things are happening in the rest of the world that require action.

It especially will not do if Europe's self-absorption continues, as seems all too likely, right up to 1996, when the 12 countries of the European Union plan another meeting to contemplate their future. As it approaches next month's election of a new European Parliament, Europe should start to make up its mind what sort of place it is, and what it wants to do in the world. In short, what it is there for.

An answer to that question should for the moment be put firmly back onto the shelf. A surprising number of politicians, mostly gentlemen of a certain age, still want the 1996 meeting to move Europe yet another stage down the road of "ever closer union" toward the European federation — the single United States of Europe — that they have so long dreamed of.

It has been clear since the row

about the Maastricht treaty a couple of years ago that this is not a workable proposition, because most

of the people of Europe do not yet

want that sort of Europe. The elderly

dreamers choose to pay no attention.

They have now been reminded,

with a jolt.

In a poll conducted by MORI and

published in The European, a 49-

to-32 percent majority of those asked

said they were against a European

federation. Only four countries

Belgium, a trio of southern aid-

receivers, Greece, Italy and Spain

produced majorities in favor, and of

those probably only the Belgians, who no longer have any real sense of national identity, honestly meant it.

The biggest "no" was not, as most people would have expected, in the land of the Netherlands. The Dutch and the Danes were even more hostile. And, decisively, both Germany and France were in the anti-federation camp. The three peoples on whose consent any new European structure must be built — Germans, French, British — are all against a federal sort of structure.

It is astonishing that the European Union's own opinion poll, Eurobarometer, has never asked people what they think about the federal idea. Well, on second thought, not so astonishing. The Euro-pollsters presumably did not want to have to take "no" for an answer.

Let it be repeated that there is nothing wrong in principle with a federal Europe. If or when that is what a majority of the people in all its component parts clearly want, a federal Europe there should be. (It would be a huge pity if this new Europe turned its back on America, thereby destroying the Atlantic partnership that could otherwise have shaped the 21st century, but that is another matter.)

Without that necessary majority among its peoples, a federal Europe will not stand. It will be the artificial creation of a group of politicians and intellectuals, a superstructure without an infrastructure, a house built on sand. That sort of thing inevitably collapses, to the pain and fury of those living in it. Yet this is what the would-be federalists of 1996 are trying to erect.

If the "ever closer union" cannot come any closer until the people of

Europe want it, is there no other idea that can send a single undivided European spine in the mid-1990s? Of course there is. It is time for Rodia's crouched figure to stand up and face the world. The nonfederal Europe that is the only possible sort of Europe in the next couple of decades needs a foreign policy. Here is work that needs to be done, a cause to rally people around.

Europe needs a policy for coping with the fanatic distortion of Islam that it may soon be confronting in North Africa. If Algeria's rebels win the war in that country,

Europe has to do what it can — which may not be much — to rescue Russia from its threatened social explosion, without encouraging Russians to think that they can once again boss their neighbors around.

Europe should raise its eyes to what is happening in Asia, most urgently the possibility that North Korea is about to make "nonproliferation" a word for the history books.

But there is something even more basic that Europe has to do. First and foremost, the European Union has to reexamine what its name means. The Union is intended to be a coming together in peace of all the formerly disputatious peoples of Europe, or at any rate as many of them as share the belief in a pluralist society (which may be a necessary condition of being able to work smoothly together). It cannot intend to remain merely a club of one part of Europe. Its definition of itself has to be pan-European.

This means being ready to admit to membership any European country that wants to join and truly passes the pluralist test. That may never include Russia, but it will al-

most certainly include quite a lot of currently rather poor countries between the present Union and Russia.

This in turn will require great changes in some of the policies that Euro-dreamers have grown attached to. The Common Agricultural Policy will not survive the arrival of Poland's farmers. More regional aid for the needy East implies less for the outstretched hands of Southern Europe. And a bigger Europe is less likely to be tightly organized.

No matter. A tighter organization is not, we now know, what most Europeans want. And a European Union that really believes in full Europeanism will not want to tilt its favors toward one lot of Europeans and away from others.

Here is a program for serious Europeans in next month's election. The 1996 Intergovernmental Conference — the jargon for that year's European get-together — should waste no time on constitutional agonizing. The time for that may come back later; it is not now. The conference should instead concentrate on the shaping of a European foreign policy: a policy that includes North Africa, Russia, East Asia and, above all, the definition of Europe itself.

Not every European is going to agree about all of those things. That is no impediment to what needs to be done. We have just been reminded that the Europe of the 1990s does not wish to be a rigid monolith. Those European countries which can agree upon joint action in the world — and most of them can agree about many things — will act together. Those which do not agree will stand aside. That is how the foreign policy of a nonfederal Europe should be. Let us start to make sure that that is what 1996 produces.

International Herald Tribune.

## Urgent UN Measures Can Abate the Rwanda Killing

By José Ayala Lasso

The writer is UN High Commissioner for Human Rights.

**GENEVA** — In the past six weeks, the world has witnessed in Rwanda a human tragedy of horrifying dimensions. Hundreds of thousands of civilians have been killed, often after being tortured.

Many thousands have disappeared. Perhaps 2 million have been forced to flee their homes. Thousands more remain trapped between battle lines, or have been forcibly detained. Many are in hiding, fearing for their lives. Disease and famine threaten those who have escaped death.

On Tuesday, the UN Commission on Human Rights opened an emergency session in Geneva, to respond to this tragedy. The meeting, only the third such special session since the commission was formed in 1946, can help stop the incessant rattle of death.

I took office on April 5. One day later, the crisis in Rwanda erupted. While peace and security are the responsibilities of the Security Council, the scale of human rights violations in Rwanda was such that there was a need for action even before peace and security could be fully guaranteed.

I felt that a monitoring of the human rights situation in Rwanda with the consent of all those in positions of authority could help deter further violations, or at least allow the international community to monitor individual tragedies, and establish responsibility. I viewed Rwanda as a litmus test of the international community's willingness to act against massive human rights violations.

After consulting the secretary-general, I undertook an urgent mission to Rwanda early this month. There I met representatives of the armed forces of the Rwandan Patriotic Front and of the interim government. I solemnly appealed to both parties, and, through Rwandan Radio, to all those in positions of power to immediately stop the massacres and other human rights violations.

I also appealed for dialogue and negotiations with a view to a long-term settlement of the crisis. I underscored the need for steps to ensure the safe distribution of humanitarian aid. I appealed for the immediate liberation of the thousands of people held hostage in the Hotel Milles Collines, the stadium and the hospital in Kiga-

li. I was able to obtain assurances from the government army that the hostages will be freed within days.

I was able to determine that both parties to the conflict would accept an international investigation of the massacres and would cooperate with UN staff sent for that purpose.

Since April 6, when the plane carrying the presidents of Rwanda and Burundi was shot down as it approached Kigali, the situation in Rwanda has steadily deteriorated.

At least 200,000 people are estimated to have been killed, and some

**A cessation of hostilities is urgently needed so that aid can reach the people.**

well-informed sources put the number as high as 500,000.

Tens of thousands of people are being held in areas controlled by the government or the Rwandan Patriotic Front. Many people are trapped in the capital, at the Amahoro Stadium, the Sainte Famille Church, a local hospital and two hotels. The threat of starvation is real.

There has been a massive displacement of population: An estimated 1 million Rwandans have sought refuge from the violence in other areas within the country. More than 300,000 are reported to have entered neighboring countries. An estimated 250,000 fled to Tanzania's Ngara region. Tens of thousands have entered Burundi. Others are in Zaïre and Uganda.

Health dangers grow daily. Water has been contaminated by corpses thrown into rivers and lakes; bodies left to rot in the streets or bushes also pose a health problem. Food is already short, and the situation could become disastrous if crops are not harvested and seedling is prevented. Effective international action is urgently required. What can the UN do? The Commission on Human Rights is the principal UN body en-

trusted with the protection of human rights. The commission and the Center for Human Rights have saved lives, quietly but effectively, over the years. But this new crisis transcends anything we have seen.

When the commission meets here Tuesday and Wednesday, it should consider appointing a special rapporteur to examine all human rights aspects of the situation, including causes and responsibilities. Such a rapporteur should be assisted by a team of human rights field officers in close cooperation with the UN Assistance Mission in Rwanda and other UN agencies and programs.

The commission should consider endorsing the suggestion that future UN efforts aimed at conflict resolution and peace-building in Rwanda be accompanied by a strong human rights component built on a broad program of human rights assistance.

Every effort must be made to halt the human rights violations, or to achieve at least a temporary cessation of hostilities so that humanitarian assistance can reach the 2 million displaced persons, and others in need. All those who are trapped or detained in places they consider unsafe must be able to move to areas of safety, with the assistance and protection of the United Nations.

The authors of the atrocities must be made aware that they cannot escape personal responsibility. They must be made to realize that all relevant international human rights instruments to which Rwanda is a party, including the Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Genocide, must be fully respected.

From the narrow windows of a Hercules C-130, leaving Kigali for Nairobi, I saw the beauty and wealth of Rwanda. But I also remembered the multitudes who earlier in the day searched our armored personnel carrier, with a live grenade in his hand. Knowing how I felt then, it is almost impossible to describe how those who cannot flee Rwanda must feel.

The recent Security Council decision to dispatch fresh troops to

Rwanda should help. But the international community must do more.

I believe that a peace accord for Rwanda should include a separate human rights component with a detailed series of human rights requirements.

Impartial investigations of human rights violations, through the special rapporteur and through field monitoring, would, by establishing the facts and responsibilities for the massacres, help prepare the ground for acceptance and reconciliation.

The reconstruction of Rwanda requires both political and financial support from member states. Close coordination among UN agencies and programs for this reconstruction effort should be based on the solid foundations of respect for human rights, the rights of minorities and the establishment of an atmosphere of tolerance. Only this can guarantee the long-term success of efforts to establish democracy and economic and social development in Rwanda.

International Herald Tribune.

## Cambodia Hasn't Been Rescued

By James D. Ross

**PHNOM PENH** — A year ago this week, some 90 percent of the Cambodian electorate braved the threat of Khmer Rouge attacks and cast ballots in the country's first contested election in decades. The subsequent formation of a coalition government and introduction of a democratic constitution convinced the international community that the United Nations peacekeeping operation had been a success.

The little attention given to Cambodia since then has focused on the government's military struggle against the Khmer Rouge. Yet there is a deeper malaise in the country's politics. A year after the vote, Cambodians are beginning to wonder why they went to the trouble of voting.

The royalist party under Prince Norodom Ranariddh won the elections by a small but significant margin. After a post-election rebellion by high-ranking members of the incumbent Cambodian People's Party, King Norodom Sihanouk sponsored a political "compromise" that divided authority evenly between the two parties. (The then Communist CPP was installed in office in Phnom Penh in 1979 by the Vietnamese-led invasion force that toppled the Khmer Rouge regime.)

Despite the formal arrangements after the 1993 elections, a genuine transfer of power from the CPP to the coalition government has yet to occur. While tossing the royalists the bones of the Finance Ministry and the Foreign Ministry, the CPP retains control of the Interior Ministry, with its elaborate state security apparatus; and the Justice Ministry, which exerts heavy authority over the nation's courts. The CPP also dominates the armed forces and the national bureaucracy.

In the provinces the imbalance of power is even greater. The CPP dutifully split up Cambodia's 21 provinces for itself. More important, it has tentatively held on to all local governments, forcing the royalists to fight to police and teachers. The corruption and human rights abuses that permeated the previous CPP regime continue under the coalition.

The royalists are at least half responsible for their dire predicament; their party won the 1993 elections partly on the strength of extravagant campaign promises and a perceived commitment to good government. Yet it has done nothing to earn continued support.

Instead of promoting reforms in government, too many royalist officials have been content to grab their piece of the pie. Those few who have been willing to challenge the status quo, such as Sam Rainsy, the capable finance minister, have been rebuffed by leaders in their own party. In the provinces, CPP offices bustle with activity, legal or otherwise, while royalist party offices stagnate.

The fight for control of the National Assembly may prove to be the royalists' last stand. Public debate has been avoided for the sake of "national reconciliation," and so far resolution of key issues has all gone the CPP's way.

The most notable and outrageous is the CPP's unconstitutional quest to seat in the assembly two leaders of last year's rebellion. Laws sharply restricting press freedom and judicial independence are in the offing. These issues are not being decided by votes or political compromise, but by a combination of CPP bullying and royalist appeasement.

A year after the elections, Cambodians should feel justly proud of the enormous accomplishments that have been achieved. A largely free press reports criticism on government ineptitude and corruption. Numerous social activist groups engage in advocacy campaigns that would have been impossible two years ago. A half-dozen human rights organizations investigate and report on government abuses and Khmer Rouge atrocities.

However, the new openness in Cambodia is tenuous and unlikely to survive unless multiparty democracy does. Short-term trends continue, the country will probably return, by default, to a one-party state.

Besides those who live off government corruption, a major beneficiary will be the Khmer Rouge. Pol Pot and his armed minions are doubtless waiting patiently for Cambodia's new democratic system to fall apart.

The writer is based in Phnom Penh with the International Human Rights Law Group and travels widely in Cambodia. He contributed this comment to the International Herald Tribune.

## IN OUR PAGES: 100, 75 AND 50 YEARS AGO

### 1894: A Master-Stroke

**PARIS** — The agreement just entered into between England and Belgium in regard to the Congo has caused much excitement. England has certainly effected a master-stroke of policy, for by the treaty she has united her possessions in South Africa with those in the north. King Leopold has been very moderate in his claims, and it is not easy to see what benefit Belgium can derive from the treaty, which is rather one of alliance in regard to affairs in Africa than an agreement for the rectification of frontiers. The two Powers, however, in dividing half a continent, have even infringed on what other Powers consider their rights.

### 1919: The Allies Reply

**PARIS** — There was officially issued yesterday [May 23], the reply of the Peace Conference to the German Note on the economic conditions of France. With regard to food produc-

tion, the Allies show that Germany is fortunate that its provinces have not lost any of their productivity through the ravages of war. She has escaped the awful damages wrought by German armies in Belgium, France, Poland, Russia, Roumania and Serbia. The reply adds: "No account is taken of the economic disaster brought about by the war; a disaster which is very extensive and even universal. Every country has suffered. There is no reason why Germany, responsible for the war, should not suffer also."

### 1944: The Anzio Assault

**WITH THE 5TH ARMY AT ANZIO BEACHHEAD, Italy** — [From our New York edition.] At 5:40 a.m. today [May 23], Anzio's guns began a fierce shelling of the rings of enemy defenses binding the ninety-square-mile beachhead. The long-awaited offensive by the beachhead forces commenced at thirty minutes later, when masses of tanks, spearheaded by hundreds of infantry, moved forward on a wide front.

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## Everything Seemed Doable In Kennedy's Early 1960s

By Bob Herbert

NEW YORK — Camelot? No, there was no Camelot. And yet, from the vantage point of 1994, amid the overwhelming clamor of narcissism, cynicism, crime and the twisted tales of afternoon television, it is not that easy to recall the extraordinary innocence that prevailed among so many Americans in the early 1960s.

I think of the time from 1960 to 1963 as the pre-Sixties, a prelude to the hyped-up, psychedelic years that gave the decade its identity. It was a cool and relatively quiet transitional period which had stronger ties of kinship to the 1950s than to the tumultuous era that lay ahead. The president throughout 1960 was Dwight Eisenhower.

President John Kennedy took office on Jan. 20, 1961, a time when Jack Benny and Red Skelton were still major prime-time television attractions and dreamy songs like "Where the Boys Are" and "Moon River" were big hits. Who knew that coming around the next

corner were miniskirts and Vietnam, the riots, the Beatles, a so-called sexual revolution, hippies, the Black Panthers, and what seemed for awhile like the assassination of our president?

**A Gallup Poll in 1961 showed that nearly all teenage girls believed they would be married (for keeps) by age 22, and most wanted four children.**

One of the benefits of innocence is the belief that it's safe to dream. Dreams blossomed everywhere in the early '60s, and they had about them a blissful, idealistic quality, especially among the young. The time as much as anything made it a perfect time for John and Jacqueline Kennedy.

Young, beautiful, brilliant, rich, the Kennedys both encouraged and embodied the dreams of that era. Youngsters joined the Peace Corps, or went to teach among the poor in Appalachia, or head-

ed south to march in protests for civil rights. Everything seemed possible, given enough time, enough effort, enough goodwill. Bad things could be made good, and good things wonderful.

Robert Frost, at the inauguration, spoke of "A golden age of poetry and power / Of which this noonday is the beginning hour."

Americans were eager to believe. Camelot, at that moment, did not seem out of the question. The Kennedys were a fairy-tale couple, the perfect stand-ins for royalty. And what else is royalty for, if not to embody the hopes and aspirations, the dreams and fantasies, of the simple folk?

How deep was the innocence? A Gallup Poll in 1961 showed that nearly all teenage girls believed they would be married (for keeps) by age 22, and most wanted four children. Eventually all families would be as wonderful as the Kennedys, who, with the adorable Caroline and John-John, were even more perfect than the television sitcom families.

How widespread were the dreams? Despite the atrocious racial prejudice of the era, Martin Luther King Jr. could stir the nation with his profoundly moving expression of his faith in the people, delivered just three months before John Kennedy was killed.

The capacity to dream seemed infinite. And for so many Americans there was no better place to project those dreams than onto the First Family. Exhibit A in the attempt to prove that fairy tales can be true.

It was astonishing, really, Jack and Jackie had limitless self-confidence and never seemed to get upset over anything. They could handle it all, and with élan — from the threat of nuclear war to the challenge of raising two young children in the world's brightest spotlight.

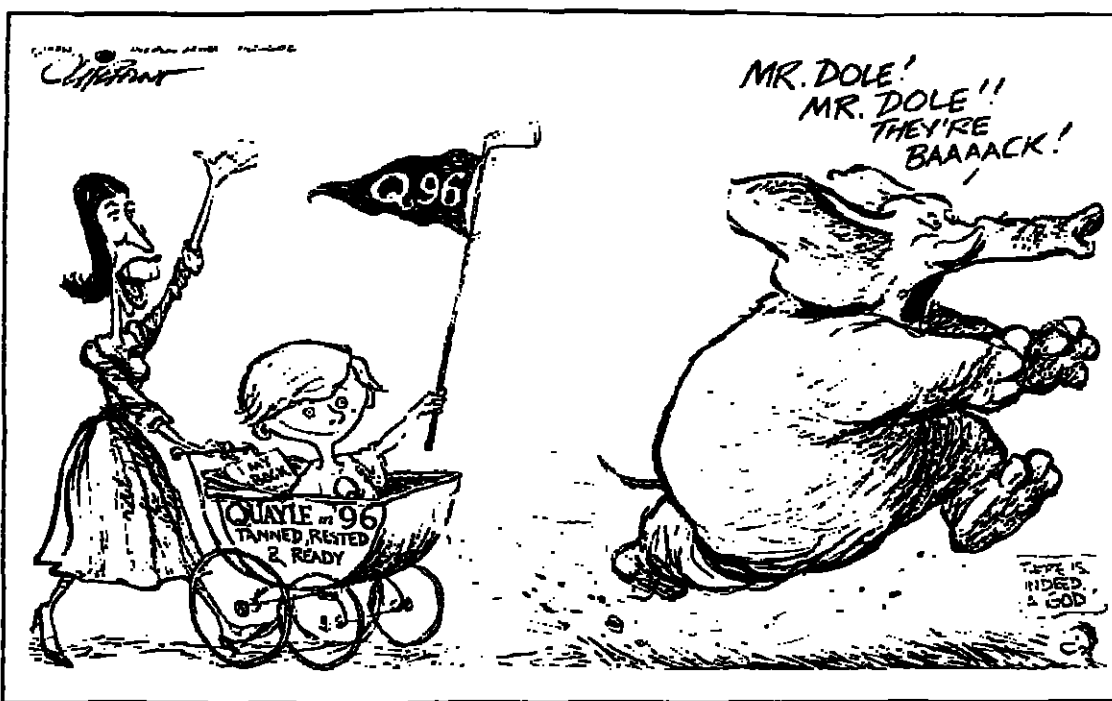
And then, of course, on Nov. 22, 1963, it looked as if it had all collapsed in a heap. The assassination was a cruel breach of faith, and the damage to the nation's psyche was enormous. In fairy tales you don't kill off the hero.

But nothing dies harder than a dream in America. So there was Jackie in the immediate aftermath, grief-stricken but as dignified and perfect as ever, providing a focus for the nation's sorrow even as she organized the rituals for our collective grief.

The country could not let her go. She moved out of the White House but she remained the first lady, still charged with the safekeeping of the fantasies and dreams of so many.

Was that brief period in the early '60s Camelot? Perhaps not. But it's the closest we'll ever come. And the fact that for more than 30 years we thought of Jackie as ever young and invulnerable is evidence that we held onto a dream of something like Camelot right up until the end.

The New York Times



## LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

### A Proper Policy on Russia

In the weeks since the death of former President Richard Nixon, it has become fashionable to advocate, as he did, a policy toward Russia of dealing with political leaders other than President Boris Yeltsin. The Clinton administration has ignored this shift in conventional wisdom and has continued to work almost exclusively with the established regime.

The correct answer is neither of these, and it is so obvious that it has nearly eluded us. We must treat Russia as the burgeoning democracy we would like it to be. That means dealing primarily with the party in power, while fully recognizing the legitimacy of other parties that have achieved any degree of support from the Russian people.

This middle-of-the-road approach is neither naive nor noncommittal. The intricacies of another country's domestic politics are beyond the comprehension of the most astute foreign experts; giving any one party unqualified support can have disastrous repercussions. The point is not to vacillate between different political groups but to provide consistent support for, and show faith in, the democratic process, a confidence that hopefully will be a self-fulfilling prophecy.

Finally, if this approach is to succeed, the United States must refrain from claiming any ideological high ground. As repulsive as certain extreme elements may be, they are present in every democratic society, including America. We must have faith in the ability of the Russian people to discern leadership from lunacy, and to make their choices accordingly.

PAM R. JENOFF,  
Cambridge, England.

### Not So Mysterious

Regarding "A Mystery: Less Birth, More Death" (Opinion, April 7) by Nicholas Eberstadt:

On the face of it, a 60 percent drop in post-Communist East Germany's birth rate does seem mysterious. However, as an American living in the Eastern German city of Jena, the reason seems clear.

Women here are unhappy. Before the Berlin Wall fell, most of them were employed, and their children were placed in any of the numerous day-care centers. Today, these women have no work (more women than men lost jobs after reunification), and they become their living conditions in cramped and deteriorating apartments built during the Communist era. Moving to a larger apartment is not feasible, as vacancy rates are zero. Without a job, and with the children at home, what modern woman would wish to further crowd her small living space?

ELIZABETH AHRENS KLEY,  
Jena, Germany.

### Behind American Violence

Regarding "Young American Criminals: A Game, Right?" (May 17):

The article on violent crime by American teenagers (and even preteens) highlights the sad truth that there will be no magic solutions to this growing problem. Lowering the age at which people may be tried as adults may seem fair, but I am skeptical of the ability of young would-be criminals to make the sort of calculations that give tougher laws preventive power. Tougher laws are no substitute for a proper sense of right and wrong.

The time has come for Americans to totally commit their resources to long-term solutions to the social problems

underlying teenage crime. Moreover, serious steps must be taken toward stopping the profusion of handguns. "Liberty," Montesquieu wrote, "can consist only in having the power to do what one should want to do and in no way be constrained to do what one should not want to do." Real solutions will be exhausting and expensive. But unless we Americans "want to do" it to live perpetually in fear, ignoring our problems will exact the biggest price of all — our freedom.

JOHN S. LEIBOVITZ,  
Edinburgh.

### The Magnum Five

Regarding "Cartier-Bresson: A Focus on Humor" (Features, May 13):

The article about Henri Cartier-Bresson failed to mention that the founders of the Magnum Photo Agency included not only Mr. Cartier-Bresson, Robert Capa and David Seymour but also William Vandivert and George Rodger. Though the latter two are less well known (Mr. Vandivert left the agency and Mr. Rodger worked mostly in Africa and Asia, not Europe), they nonetheless deserve to be mentioned.

ROBERT WILLIAMSON,  
Paris.

### A D-Day Exception

If an exception were to be made to the decision not to invite any German official to the D-Day ceremonies in Normandy, it should be for President Richard von Weizsäcker, a nobleman in the truest sense, who represents the best of Germany past, present and future. I would object strenuously to anyone else, but not to the good baron.

ALFRED M. ROSSUM,  
Paris.

## We'll Miss the Royal Touch Of Her Graceful Tutelage

By Mary McGrory

WASHINGTON — She was a first lady like no other. She was improbably beautiful, she rode to hounds, did exactly as she pleased and knew just what she wanted.

Jacqueline Kennedy wanted babies and fine arts in the White House. She would pose with the occasional poster child but not with county children. She was a perfectionist who pored over histories and other old tomes to find out exactly how the White House was supposed to be and then set about restoring

flame. She walked down the aisle holding daughter Caroline's hand.

The child felt the sobs and reached over and patted her mother's arm. Outside, John, 3, saluted the casket. She had taught her children love and manners.

When it was over, she did something else. She put her own spin on the Kennedy years. Reluctance set aside, she summoned Teddy White, the romantic chronicler of presidential campaigns, to Hyannis Port and told him what it was all about. It had been Camelot, she told him. And for a generation, while tales of presidential plundering filtered out of congressional committees and revisionism broke through the veil of tears, Camelot was the theme.

### MEANWHILE

it. She had the State Dining Room painted nine times before she got the right shade of white.

The country was not sure what to make of her. She was half of the handsomest couple ever sent to the White House. Whether to dismiss her as a Newport irrelevant or a clotheshorse occupied much speculation until she went with the president to Europe in June 1961 and created a sensation.

In Paris, the French, contemplating the wide-set eyes, luxuriant black hair and delicate nose, forgot to be superior. By the end of the second day, John Kennedy was presenting himself as "the man who brought Jackie Kennedy to Paris."

In Vienna, they lined the streets murmuring "JFK" (even) in such volume that it sounded like a gong, enveloping him. She stood next to Nikita Khrushchev's bulky wife, Nina, on a balcony — a referendum on the Cold War, and the West won in a walk. The president had a rough time with Mr. Khrushchev, but Jackie came home to glory — and to new respect from her Irish in-laws, having proved herself world-class.

Jackie Kennedy was not into issues as Eleanor Roosevelt was. In her rare public statements she stressed the importance of raising one's children well. She did not hold press conferences, did not give interviews. People told her she had to, but she knew better. Her silence added to her glamour. She kept her children out of camera range and gave elegant parties. Grown men cried if not invited. Poets and musicians came to dinner. There was waiting in the foyer.

In Dallas, the first lady became a queen. Her bearing during the traumatic weekend when the young president lay in state in the Rotunda and the country sobbed was an above-and-beyond demonstration of noblesse oblige, worthy, many said at the time, of royalty.

The 34-year-old socialite understood that she had a shattered country on her hands, and that she had to hold it together. She made her tragic rounds with dignity and grace. She planned her husband's funeral to the last trumpet and pipe. She researched the hanging of crepe on the White House. She oversaw the funeral invitation list to St. Matthew's Cathedral. She saw to the eternal

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## BOOKS

### THE FINAL STATION:

#### Umschlagplatz

By Jaroslaw M. Rymkiewicz.  
Translated from Polish by Nina Taylor. 327 pages. \$27.50. Farrar Straus Giroux.

Reviewed by  
Abraham Brumberg

THIS book by the Polish writer and poet Jaroslaw M. Rymkiewicz comes at a time when Poland is going through one of those recurrent bouts of hysteria that like some pestilential plague descend upon the country every few years. German for "transfer square," Umschlagplatz was the area in Warsaw whence Jews were dispatched to the gas chambers in Treblinka. The book, published in Poland in 1988, examines, among other things, the behavior of Poles during that period. And the current outburst turns precisely on this subject.

The storm was touched off by a single line in an article in Poland's largest newspaper, *Gazeta Wyborcza*, which said that during the Warsaw Uprising many Jewish survivors were "finished off by the Home Army (AK) and the National Armed Forces (NSZ)" — the first of the Polish underground army of the Polish resistance, which operated under the aegis of the Polish government in exile; the second was also a resistance group, but a chauvinistic and fiercely anti-Semitic one

### WHAT THEY'RE READING

• Paul Omerod, economist and author, is reading "Modern Snow and Ice Techniques" by Bill March.

"It is a good little book on basic techniques for winter mountaineering and ice climbing, which I am reading because I just completed a course on it."

(Birk Ipsen, IHT)



that did not answer to the government in exile.

The phrasing was vague and unfortunate, and the author of the review, a young historian and journalist by the name of Michal Cichy, apologized. He then produced evidence showing under what circumstances armed units (including some of the AK) were responsible for the massacre of about 90 Jews during the Uprising — neither ordered nor condoned by the AK leadership.

The correctives were to no avail. To suggest that any Home Army soldiers murdered Jews was less majestic. Furthermore, it challenged the received wisdom that no one put it, "to help those who were dying" — a distortion of the historical record, which shows that most Poles reacted to the mass extermination with stunning indifference and that many actually approved and lent a hand.

The papers were flooded with letters and articles asserting that the evidence cited by Cichy was fake. A well-known historian, Tomasz Stuzembo, accused Cichy of "racism," and the editor of *Gazeta*, the prominent intellectual Adam Michnik, and his entire editorial crew, of "anti-Polishness and anti-Semitism."

These facts help to explain the significance of Rymkiewicz's book. "The Final Station," in addition to re-creating, in relentless detail, the place where, as the author writes, "the history of Polish Jews came to an end," also asks the Polish readers to ponder "what Umschlagplatz signifies" to them and to "posterity."

In fact, Rymkiewicz tries to come to grips with the nature of Polish-Jewish relations before the war and the attitude of the Poles to Jews during the war.

His book is not a polemic. Rather, it tries to get to the truth by weaving a tapestry that is part history, part rumination, part fiction and part semi-fiction. It moves back and forth between scenes of Poland of the 1930s, during the war, and now, then to New York, where many Jewish survivors found a haven after the war. One of the protagonists is very much like the Nobel Prize-winner Isaac Bashevis Singer.

Rymkiewicz cites passages from the many sources he consulted, two particularly striking ones from a book written by a Pole who witnessed the deportation of the Jewish population in his small town near Warsaw. The reaction of the local population, with notable exception, was ghastly. Hordes of people, he writes, descended on the freshly vacated homes of the Jews, robbing, looting, "streaming with sweat, their eyes darting nervously about, [looking] like overladen ants salvaging the treasures of their devastated anthill." Another shattering scene describes Jews "squatting in rows," waiting to be deported, with "the Germans drinking beer" and "groups of slender, pleasantly sun-tanned boys and girls standing around the ice cream kiosks on the nearby beach."

Yet on balance "The Final Station," for all its merits, does not succeed in its objective. Part of the blame rests on the publishers, who accepted a flawed translation containing references to people, places and incidents unknown to most Americans. For many Polish readers this was no problem. But the vast majority of American readers should have been provided with a glossary and footnotes.

In addition, the fusion of fiction and nonfiction, reminiscences, current observations and occasional obiter dicta does not quite hold together. Some of the observations are forced, and the occasional humor awkward.

"The Final Station" is a brave attempt to provide an antidote to that malaise of anti-Jewish hatred and apologetics that still flourishes in Poland half a century after the "history of the Polish Jews came to an end." Pity the book isn't better.

Abraham Brumberg, who writes frequently on East European and Jewish problems, wrote this for *The Washington Post*.

## CHESS

By Robert Byrne

IN the Winter Tournament of the Marshall Chess Club, Ilya Gurevich went undefeated in amassing the winning 8-3 score.

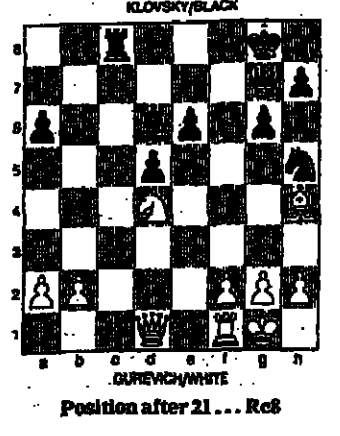
Gurevich defeated Rafail Klovsky with a sharp pawn-winning series of tactics in Round 2.

Against the Tarrasch Variation of the French Defense with 3 Nc2, Klovsky adopted 3...Nf6 to lure the white center on with 4 e3. Quite soon, he whittled down this bastion with 8...f6 9 e4 Nf6 which also gave him the mobility to defend his kingside.

After 10 Ne2, it may be that Black does not need 10...Qc7. A reasonable alternative is 10...Bd6 11 O-O Q-O 12 Bf4 Bf4 13 Nf4 Nf4 14 Qc1 Ng5 15 Ng5 Qg4 16 Ne2 Qf6.

The plan underlying 10...Qc7 is that after 11...Bd6, White cannot exchange off his queen bishop for the black king bishop. The purpose is further served by purpose 15...Ng5, which prepares 16 Ng5 16 f6, thus preserving the d6 square to guard the slightly weak dark squares.

Gurevich remarked that his 17 Nf6? is a new move. On 17...Ra7, the black queen rook is out of play, while after 17...Rb8, Gurevich



boldly snatched a pawn with 18 Bg7.

Klovsky did not buckle under with 18...Ra7, nor fall into 18...Nb4 19 Bb5 Na2 20 Re8 Rb8 21 Ne8 Re8 22 Qa4 Nb4 23 Bg7. He struck back with 21...Nd4 19 Nd4 20 Ne8 Rb8 21 Re8 Re8, when 22 Ne6? would be crushed by 22...Qe5!, winning a piece.

Still, Gurevich's analysis had gone a lot further, as his 22 Re1, showed. After 22...Bb4 (22...e7 23 Nf5! g4 24 Qd3 Qf7 25 Qd6 is

overwhelming for White) 23 Qg4! Qf7 24 Rd1, there was no defense by 24...Re8 because of 25 Ne6 Qe6 26 Qb4.

On 24...Ng7 25 Ne6! Rd4 26 Nd4 Nf5, Gurevich coolly forced the game into a pawn-ahead ending with 27 b3 Rd4 28 Rd4 Nd4 29 Qd4.

After 38 Qb7!, there was no use for Klovsky to go on: 38...Qg8 39 Kd6 40 Qg7 Qf7 41 Bg7 Kg7 42 Kf2 brings about an elementary king-and-pawn ending: 38...Ra4 39 Bd4 Qe1 40 Kg2 accomplishes nothing because Gurevich had precisely guarded against 40...Qd4. Klovsky gave up.

White: Gurevich. Black: Klovsky.

White	Black	White	Black
1 e4	e5	21 Ne8	Re8
2 Nf3	Nf6	22 Qa4	Nb4
3 Bc4	Nc6	23 Bg7	Qe5
4 d4	Nf6	24 Nd4	Nf5
5 c3	g6	25 Ne6	Rd4
6 Bb3	g7	26 Nd4	Nf5
7 e3	g8	27 b3	Rd4
8 f4	g7	28 Rd4	Nd4
9 g5	g8	29 Qd4	Ng7
10 Ne2	g7	30 Qg4	Qf7
11 O-O	g8	31 Qg7	Qf7
12 Nf3	g7	32 Qg8	Qf7
13 Bf4	g7	33 Qg9	Qf7
14 Qc1	g7	34 Qg10	Qf7
15 Ng5	g7	35 Qg11	Qf7
16 f6	g7	36 Qg12	Qf7
17 Nf6	g7	37 Qg13	Qf7
18 Bg7	g7	38 Qg14	Qf7
19 Ra7	g7	39 Qg15	Qf7
20 Re8	g7	40 Qg16	Qf7

### TO OUR READERS

IN BELGIUM

It



Straw, raffia, macramé and all kinds of stringy materials are part of the vogue for "natural" colors and fibers. Far left: Lacroix's raffia embroidered bodice; Armani's rope necklace. At right: Chanel's straw basket with signature chain; Oldham's woven bodice and raffia skirt; Lauren's coolie hat and khaki knit, and Ferragamo's knit outfit in natural colors.

Christopher Moore

Thirionier Moore



## *An American in Japan*

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Paris 6th

[illegible]











After Buyout Plan  
of United Airlines and United  
have agreed to modify their 540,000  
employee-owned company.  
deal in company  
preliminary on Sunday. It would give  
the airline, make it easier for the  
and could increase the percentage of  
AL stock exceeds \$136 for the time  
employees own would rise as high as  
a threshold of \$170 a share. The  
\$75 from Friday.

Equipment Firm  
ser Industries Inc. agreed Monday  
to sell its 1995 production equipment  
each 10% of the company's stock  
areas, provided that Drexler's stock  
before the transaction is approved.

Buy Echelon Stake  
bergh: Echelon Corp. said Monday  
it stake in the newly held Echelon  
George Soros' Quantum Fund bought  
\$10 million each in Echelon and  
Arkadia, chairman of Apple Inc.,  
building, home, and industrial  
throughout. Gary Glavin, company  
ent, said.

GATT on Tuna  
United States will challenge a GATT  
tuna imports on the grounds that  
air hearings. The office of the U.S. trade  
representative in the U.S. is  
gains on tariffs and trade rules  
part on environmental grounds  
under GATT. Washington believes  
g nets that endanger dolphins.

Unit to Expand  
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# Banks Agree To Cut Back Poland's Debt

**The Associated Press**  
**WARSAW** — Poland and its Western creditor banks have reached agreement on terms to renegotiate the country's foreign debt of \$132 billion, a Polish official said Monday.  
The buyback rate for the principal and outstanding interest was 41 cents to the dollar, Poland's chief negotiator, Krzysztof Krowacki, said to the PAP news agency.  
The deal concluded over the weekend concerns implementation of a general agreement reached March 11 on the reduction of the country's debt to the so-called London Club of commercial banks.  
Mr. Krowacki said the government also proposed the possible conversion of some debt into equity in Polish companies.  
Banks are expected to comment on the deal by June 29. The government will later sign debt agreements with each of the creditor banks.  
"The agreement is final and we will have nothing else to offer to banks which will not accept it," Mr. Krowacki said.  
The March 11 agreement, reached after four years of talks, had provided for a 45 percent re-

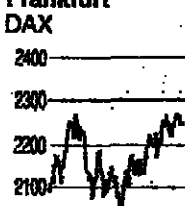

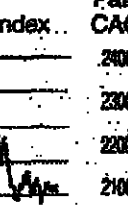
# The Derivatives Scramble

## Exchanges Rush to Cash In on Trend

**Bloomberg Business News**  
**LONDON** — Over-the-counter derivatives have become the world's hottest financial instruments despite calls for market regulation, and futures and options exchanges are scrambling to develop competing products to cash in on the trend.  
Exchanges in France and Italy began trading new derivatives on Friday that are designed to muscle in on rivals' business. Other exchanges in Europe and beyond are forging alliances to secure market share.  
"It's cannibalistic," said Gary Delany, a managing director of the Philadelphia Stock Exchange, where many European corporate treasurers buy and sell currency options to hedge their companies' foreign exchange risks.  
Derivatives are financial contracts that derive their price from something else — usually physical commodities, stocks, bonds or currency rates. Some derivatives, such as futures and options, are traded on exchanges, which are generally more tightly regulated than the over-the-counter market.  
But because the exchanges have to pay for the infrastructure of trading floors or computer-based trading systems and guarantee trades will be matched through clearing houses, exchange trading is more expensive for companies than the less-regulated over-the-counter market.  
The OTC market also allows companies to tailor products to hedge their individual risks, developing contracts such as interest rate swaps or options on currencies that expire at dates set by the customer rather than by an exchange.  
This flexibility has caused the over-the-counter market to boom and exchanges to rush to develop competing products.  
Eyeing the successes of the Philadelphia exchange — where about \$2 billion worth of currency options trade each day — Marché à Terme International de France, the French futures and options exchange, began trading nearly identical options that let buyers lock in exchange rates for months to come.  
MATIF officials readily admit they're after the Philadelphia Stock Exchange's business.  
"We hope French corporates will come back to the domestic market," said Patricia Rouast, a spokeswoman for MATIF in Paris.  
While the exchanges slug it out, many central bankers and lawmakers have voiced concern that the widespread use of derivatives ultimately could destabilize world financial markets.  
For the most part, it is OTC derivatives that worry regulators. OTC derivatives have been blamed for the heavy losses revealed recently by such multinational companies as Procter & Gamble Co. and Air Products & Chemicals Inc.  
Meanwhile, the prices in the French and U.S. exchanges' "Atlantic tug-of-war" are people such as Jean-Claude Cortot, who is treasurer of the Paris-based Valeo SA, it is Mr. Cortot's job to hedge against the currency risks the automobile-components maker takes when it exports products or buys materials from abroad. About 44 percent of Valeo's products are sold in France, with the rest going to other European countries and North and South America.  
Right now, Mr. Cortot buys and sells options in the over-the-counter market, but with MATIF offering options so close to home, he said he might

# U.K. Nears Award of Lottery License

**Reuters**  
**LONDON** — In a climax to months of secret deliberations, Britain will on Wednesday announce the name of the lucky winner of its national lottery license.  
The first since 1826, the most recent in Europe and widely tipped to be the biggest in the world, Britain's lottery will be an expensive gamble that is likely to pay off richly for the successful bidder.  
Eight groups, including some big blue-chip names, are in the running but the smart money is betting it as a two-horse race between the Camelot consortium and the Lotco group, with Richard Branson, the Virgin Group chairman, viewed as an outside possibility.  
Peter Davis, director of the lottery, will maintain the suspense up to the last moment, notifying winner and losers alike simultaneously by fax on Wednesday morning. He has scrutinized their plans in complete secrecy and judged them according to propriety, security and their ability to make the most money for "good causes."  
Leisure analysts predicted the lottery, when up and running, would be one of Britain's biggest industries, generating up to \$4 billion (\$6 billion) a year in revenue.  
One bidder reckoned that his proposal would make \$31 billion over the seven-year life of the license. This would allow profit for the operator of £70 to £100 million, analysts said.  
Camelot, a group backed by two veterans of the gaming business, the U.S. corporation GTECH, which supplies lottery equipment in 24 countries, and De la Rue PLC, which has been in the business for two decades, has been a favorite from the start.  
Lotco was seen more as an outsider, although analysts tend to like the caliber of its nine partners, which include Bank Organization PLC, Barclays Bank PLC and Schroders PLC.  
Mr. Branson has based his bid on a high-profile pledge to give all proceeds to charity.  
The government expects to spend around a quarter of the revenue on arts, sports, charities, heritage and a Millennium Fund to celebrate the year 2000. Mr. Davis hopes the lottery will be operating by late this year or early next, with around half the volume forming the prize fund.

Investor's Europe				
				
Frankfurt DAX	London FTSE 100 Index	Paris CAC 40		
2400	3500	2000		
2200	3400	2000		
2000	3300	2000		
1800	3200	2000		
1600	3100	2000		
1400	3000	2000		
1200	2900	2000		
1000	2800	2000		
D J F J M A M	D J F J M A M	2000 D J F J M A M		
1993	1993	1993		
1994	1994	1994		
Exchange	Index	Monday Close	Prev. Close	% Change
Amsterdam	AEX	Closed	412.77	
Brussels	Stock Index	Closed	7,923.53	
Frankfurt	DAX	Closed	2,249.85	
Frankfurt	FAZ	Closed	850.55	
Heisinki	HEX	1,873.49	1,884.15	-0.08
London	Financial Times 30	2,459.60	2,472.80	-0.53
London	FTSE 100	3,108.40	3,127.30	-0.60
Madrid	General Index	338.94	337.59	+0.40
Milan	MBI	1,224.00	1,254.00	-2.39
Paris	CAC 40	Closed	2,155.43	
Stockholm	Aftersvaeriden	Closed	1,955.99	
Vienne	Stock Index	Closed	458.05	
Zurich	SBS	Closed	957.15	
Sources: Reuters, AFP		International Herald Tribune		



# NASDAQ

**Monday's 4 p.m.**  
s list compiled by the AP. consists of the 1,000  
st traded securities in terms of dollar value. It is  
updated twice a year.

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# AMEX

**Monday's Closing**  
Tables include the nationwide prices up to the closing on Wall Street and do not reflect late trades elsewhere. Via The Associated Press.

12 Month		Div	Yld	PE	SIC	High		Low		Chg
High	Low					Stock	Open			
1	8 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
2	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
3	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
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7	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
8	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
9	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
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13	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
14	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
15	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
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67	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
68	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
69	1 1/2	Alm Int	.42	5.0	28	103	37 1/2	38 1/2	31 1/2	1 1/2
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High	Low	Open	Close	Div.	Vol	PE	High	Low	Open	Close	Div.	Vol	PE
124	124	124	124		1	1	124	124	124	124		1	1
125	125	125	125		1	1	125	125	125	125		1	1
126	126	126	126		1	1	126	126	126	126		1	1
127	127	127	127		1	1	127	127	127	127		1	1
128	128	128	128		1	1	128	128	128	128		1	1
129	129	129	129		1	1	129	129	129	129		1	1
130	130	130	130		1	1	130	130	130	130		1	1
131	131	131	131		1	1	131	131	131	131		1	1
132	132	132	132		1	1	132	132	132	132		1	1
133	133	133	133		1	1	133	133	133	133		1	1
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135	135	135	135		1	1	135	135	135	135		1	1
136	136	136	136		1	1	136	136	136	136		1	1
137	137	137	137		1	1	137	137	137	137		1	1
138	138	138	138		1	1	138	138	138	138		1	1
139	139	139	139		1	1	139	139	139	139		1	1
140	140	140	140		1	1	140	140	140	140		1	1
141	141	141	141		1	1	141	141	141	141		1	1
142	142	142	142		1	1	142	142	142	142		1	1
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144	144	144	144		1	1	144	144	144	144		1	1
145	145	145	145		1	1	145	145	145	145		1	1
146	146	146	146		1	1	146	146	146	146		1	1
147	147	147	147		1	1	147	147	147	147		1	1
148	148	148	148		1	1	148	148	148	148		1	1
149	149	149	149		1	1	149	149	149	149		1	1
150	150	150	150		1	1	150	150	150	150		1	1
151	151	151	151		1	1	151	151	151	151		1	1
152	152	152	152		1	1	152	152	152	152		1	1
153	153	153	153		1	1	153	153	153	153		1	1
154	154	154	154		1	1	154	154	154	154		1	1
155	155	155	155		1	1	155	155	155	155		1	1
156	156	156	156		1	1	156	156	156	156		1	1
157	157	157	157		1	1	157	157	157	157		1	1
158	158	158	158		1	1	158	158	158	158		1	1
159	159	159	159		1	1	159	159	159	159		1	1
160	160	160	160		1	1	160	160	160	160		1	1
161	161	161	161		1	1	161	161	161	161		1	1
162	162	162	162		1	1	162	162	162	162		1	1
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# Business Education

## BRINGING THE WORLD TO THE CLASSROOM

**P**rospective employers willing to pay the price for a business-school graduate expect to get an executive who can go into action right away in a rapidly changing and increasingly complex environment. At the same time, European and U.S. schools are competing ever more savagely for market share and recognition. This means that top schools everywhere are struggling to adapt their teaching methods to meet the new demands.

"Since we launched our first MBA and MSC programs back in the 1960s, the aim of these courses has changed considerably," says Leo Murray, director of Cranfield School of Management in Britain. "Today, we concentrate our teaching efforts on developing personal skills such as problem solving and teamwork."

The changes, however, are still less than revolutionary. A 1993 survey carried out among 59 European graduate schools by the Brussels-based European Foundation for Management Development, for instance, showed that lectures still accounted for 40.5 percent of total teaching time. Project work, case studies and group discussions took up 24.6 percent, 16.4 percent and 8.6 percent respectively, while computer simulations notched up a mere 3.8 percent of the total.

Paradoxically, at the same time that European business schools are competing for students, many are also looking for ways to link up in cooperative networks. The main purpose of this is to provide more cross-cultural courses at the European level by establishing networks and exchanges of students between different European countries. The procedure also helps to improve economies of scale by pooling resources at a time when the marketplace is demanding ever more sophisticated teaching and research facilities.

One prominent example of this approach is the Community of European Management Schools. CEMS comprises 12 universities and business schools in different European countries, including Cologne University in Germany, the London School of Economics in Britain and the Copenhagen Business

School in Denmark. The fundamental purpose of this association is the creation of a common European business qualification known as the CEMS Master.

"The CEMS Master, awarded to students in addition to the degree granted by their home institution, undeniably adds value to students' qualifications on graduation," says Staffan Borenstam Linder, president of the Stockholm School of Economics and chairman of CEMS. The procedure for setting up this additional qualification involves the creation of common standards among member schools and the progressive harmonization of degree courses.

"Case studies play a very important role both in our degree courses and our executive programs," says José Maria Pons, MBA director at IESE (Instituto de Estudios Superiores de Empresa) in Barcelona. "However, we use them as a springboard to collective thinking rather than as an illustration of a single solution to a problem. Employed in the latter way, cases can become quickly outdated, and even more importantly,

### A body of European cases is now finally emerging

they fail to convey the complexity of real-life situations."

Originally, most cases were developed by American institutions like Harvard, but a body of European case material is finally emerging. European schools making a major input in this connection include the Institute for Management Development (IMD) in Switzerland and INSEAD in France. Cranfield coordinates the European Case Clearing House (ECCCH).

"The vital point about case teaching is that its strength depends as much on the quality of the teacher as on the quality of the case," says Gary Edelman, who was recently voted best lecturer by students at the Rotterdam School of Management. "Many European professors feel happier with the traditional academic-lecture approach,

and if you force the wrong people to adopt the case method, it gives the whole procedure a bad name."

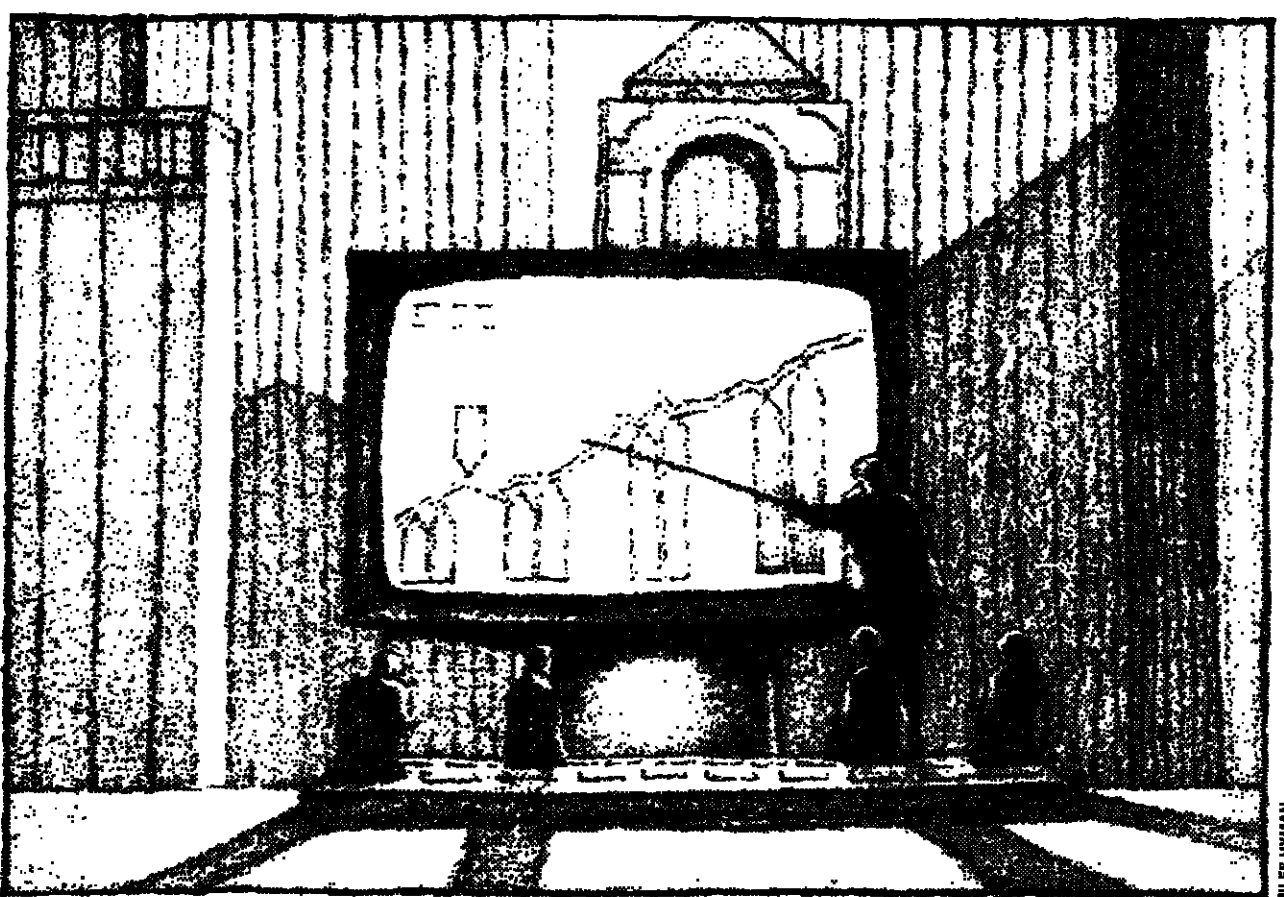
SDA Bocconi in Milan is one of the growing number of schools that makes use of computer simulations for teaching purposes. "For example, we have devised a model-building simulation using a spreadsheet format, which allows students to work in small groups on different decision models and to compete with one another," says MBA Program Director Pamela Adams. "This helps students to appreciate the interactions between different issues and to learn how to operate in an integrated way."

The simulation might bring together, for example, information and issues from sectors such as marketing, finance and production, and it imitates the complex information flows within real businesses. "This approach encourages students to examine both quantitative and qualitative considerations," explains Ms. Adams.

Other computer-assisted projects launched by SDA Bocconi include a finance, banking and macroeconomic simulation called ArcoFund. Students are divided into small groups, and each group is given a notional capital sum of \$100 million to play with. This then has to be "invested" in stock-exchange indexes. "The driving force behind this game is the competition that it generates between the groups," says Ms. Adams. "The simulation continues throughout the year, and we see who has done best in November."

The California-based International University of America, which recruits MBA students in Europe, places particular emphasis on its personal-project approach. "The purpose is to identify a topic that the student explores over the course of the program. This aims at developing research skills in a real-life American business setting," says IUA Professor Jack Forget.

Many degree courses include a requirement for students to spend part of their course time working in a real-life business environment. The International MBA program run by the Rotterdam School of Management provides one example. "At the end of their first year,



all our students have to spend three weeks analyzing a chosen company on a cross-functional basis," says Dean J. Wil Foppen. "Further company projects form part of the second year also."

At Manchester Business School in Britain, MBA students are divided into project groups of five or six to work on consulting assignments for companies. "One project involves advising companies on mergers and acquisitions strategies while another looks at overseas market opportunities," says Manchester MBA Director Peter Barrar. "Students have to calculate what their costs will be to carry out the project, and they then submit a bid on this basis to the prospective customer company."

One example in the mergers and ac-

quisitions project involved bringing executives of the Blue Circle group of companies to the school, so that they could discuss their M&A strategy with students. Participants in the course then undertook research aimed at identifying potential target companies.

This project brought students face to face with the need in a real-life situation to combine analytical skills based on logic with softer skills connected with handling people situations. "Mr. Barrar says, 'For instance, under the first heading, they had to look at issues such as valuing businesses in accordance with their equity bases. The second aspect required them to consider factors such as the best way to avoid making experienced directors in the

target company feel they were under threat when it would be important to retain their services after the takeover."

IMD runs a scheme called TIE (Team Initiative Enterprise). "Students work in self-selected groups," says MBA Director Kamran Kashani. "Each of these has to come up with a basic idea and a precise definition and then put it into practice."

The Groupe ESC Lyon provides a further variant. "One of our projects aims at motivating students to create a business," says ESC Lyon Vice President Philippe Albert. "Getting participants to create a working enterprise is one of the best teaching methods you can devise."

Michael Rowe

**Schiller International University**  
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# WHEN ACADEME GOES CORPORATE

**M**any business schools used to pride themselves on their detached and scholarly approach to teaching and research. Today, pushed by cash shortages and competition, they see their role more as eager sellers in the corporate marketplace, and all the major institutions are struggling to forge closer relationships with business.

Despite such trends, many leading European businesses continue to believe that few schools are as yet fully attuned to their precise needs. Often a particular difficulty is persuading faculty members to change work methods to which they have been long accustomed. It is generally accepted, however, that big management centers are making major efforts to get closer to the marketplace.

One example is the way in which Ashridge Management College in Britain recently went about the job of tackling the management development needs of the Volkswagen company. Key Ashridge staff traveled to the company to meet all the relevant players and to find out in detail what Volkswagen had in mind and what was required. On the basis of these meetings, the college drew up a specially tailored program.



Major management centers are making big efforts to get closer to the marketplace.

INSEAD in France offers another example. "Fifty percent of our total activity is devoted to executive education, and our whole approach is based on the idea of creating partnerships with businesses," says Arnould De Meyer, director of executive education at INSEAD. "A big part of our company-specific work is concerned with managing change and helping corporations to maintain internal cohesion."

The school, for instance, organized a special program for the ABN and AMRO banks in the Netherlands at the time of their merger, and it has also been called in by French state-owned operations about to be privatized.

Further examples of this approach are provided by the company-specific courses organized by HEC Management, the executive-training subsidiary of the Groupe HEC. "Recent projects we have undertaken include initial training of the marketing work force of a European aeronautics company and organizing a general management cycle to fit the training requirements of 400 executives in a European service company," says HEC Management Director Olivier Bruel.

In addition, HEC Management recently assisted a French bank organization in

creating a school for top-level executives. "This mingled Groupe HEC pedagogic and technical expertise with the professional know-how of managers," says Mr. Bruel. "In this way, we were able to introduce a modern, efficient and dynamic training system into the heart of the organization's structure."

Giving companies an effective way in the way schools are organized and in the content of their courses is another method that is widely adopted to cement relations. "Both Spanish and multinational companies are represented on our governing board," says Ignacio de la Vega, professor of entrepreneurship at the Instituto de Empresa in Madrid. "We also actively seek corporate sponsorship for professional chairs, although Spanish tax law does not motivate companies in this respect."

IMD in Lausanne is structured around some 120 corporate "stakeholders," who interact with the faculty on teaching and research and who receive a package of services from the institute in return. "We organize benchmarking workshops for all our stakeholders throughout the year," says Paul Adams, IMD's director of corporate affairs. "Moreover, our executive courses are angled strongly toward tailored activities and consortium programs that enable participants to dovetail workplace

learning with their attendance at IMD."

Many French business schools are connected with local chambers of commerce, which provide part of their funding from taxes collected from businesses in the area.

The Groupe ESC Lyon provides a particular example. "Our structure is based on a partnership between the chamber of commerce and regional businesses, which are strongly represented on our executive board," says Philippe Albert, the school's vice president.

Another cooperative venture between business and academe is the Institut du Français des Affaires de Reims, created last year at the initiative of the local chamber of commerce, the University of Reims and other groups. IDFAIR aims to educate foreign executives in business French and in French business procedure.

Faced with reduced demand for business graduates, schools also have to pay closer attention to companies' recruiting requirements. "Spanish companies tell us that they are looking for recruits who can think and take decisions in a more structured fashion," says Carlos Cavallé, dean of IESE in Barcelona. "This means, for instance, that we have to encourage students to adopt a more rigorous ap-

# THE AMERICANS KEEP COMING

**I**ncreased business opportunities abroad and the globalization of U.S. commerce have influenced the popularity of U.S. business schools with branches in Europe. These schools are continuing to seek a foothold in Europe largely because they are faced with a dwindling pool of students at home and because a European outpost gives an MBA program added cachet at home.

Most U.S. schools operate under a partnership agreement with a European school, which allows students and faculty on both campuses to move back and forth. Many lesser-known colleges are now adding studies abroad, following in the footsteps of such top-tier schools as Boston University, the University of Hartford and Webster University of St. Louis (which began a Geneva campus in 1979). Purdue University in Indiana, for example, has begun a joint program with the Ecole Supérieure de Commerce de Rouen.

Some schools find a niche: The University of Pittsburgh, for instance, has concentrated on Eastern Europe, and Pittsburgh now has programs in Prague, St. Petersburg and Budapest. In January, the Simon School at the University of Rochester will open its second European executive MBA program in Bern.

The partnership with the University of Bern supplements an already existing program in Rotterdam.

According to Dick Kwartler, publisher of the MBA Newsletter, the growth of American programs abroad parallels the huge increase in Europeans studying on U.S. campuses. Europeans constitute up to 30 percent of the student body of many colleges; at Yale, the figure has reached 33 percent. This reverse

trend is reflected in the growth in the number of once-scarce European sites where prospective students can take the Graduate Management Admission Test. "International enrollment is a way to counter declining domestic enrollment," says Mr. Kwartler.

Perhaps the most closely watched European outpost is the one to be established on July 1 in Barcelona by the University of Chicago, one of America's most respected business schools. The part-time MBA program is unique insofar as it represents the first time a top-tier school has attempted a European MBA program without the assistance of a local university. "It is the first stand-alone U.S. executive program," Mr. Kwartler notes. "It will be pivotal in terms of whether other U.S. schools will follow."

More important are alliances — "the new buzzword in management education," according to Mr. Kwartler — between U.S. and European schools, as well as with European companies.

In October 1993, the University of Michigan developed a program in Hong Kong for Cathay Pacific that links professors in Ann Arbor to students in Hong Kong via interactive TV. "Interactive TV opens up a whole new world," Mr. Kwartler says. "It will not matter where the student is

enrolled." The biggest limitation on the more traditional partnership programs between U.S. and European universities is American students' notorious lack of facility in foreign languages. Only a few prestigious schools on the Continent, such as INSEAD and IMD,



In Barcelona, a new outpost for the University of Chicago.

conduct classes in English. One drawback to the European programs is that they may draw away registrants from the home campus. The Massachusetts Institute of Technology, a well-regarded business school, had experimented with a European program a few times, but it decided not to continue after the program proved to be too expensive and threatened to take top-quality students away from the Cambridge campus.

Steve Weinstein

## THE NEW FRONTIER

Vietnam opens its economy to the world market. The country is likely to attract growing attention from European and U.S. business schools in search of new clients.

So far, few have taken the plunge. Although INSEAD organized a two-day conference for European executives and officials last year, the French school of management and business, which has a long-standing relationship with the U.S. State Department, has not yet developed a program to attract students from the country.

U.S. Hong Kong and Swiss institutions are also pursuing projects in the country. "Vietnam is not looking for U.S.-style business education. Rather, it is turning naturally toward the Southeast Asian 'big three' for business models," says Mike Dodd, regional director with the Asia Center attached to INSEAD. "What the country needs is the know-how to develop the infrastructure, to build roads, bridges, and so on."

IMD in Lausanne is structured around some 120 corporate "stakeholders," who interact with the faculty on teaching and research and who receive a package of services from the institute in return. "We organize benchmarking workshops for all our stakeholders throughout the year," says Paul Adams, IMD's director of corporate affairs. "Moreover, our executive courses are angled strongly toward tailored activities and consortium programs that enable participants to dovetail workplace

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Business schools' heightened interest in ethics and

corporate responsibility is fueled by a bewildering array of factors. These range from public disenchantment with seemingly endless revelations of financial scandals and corruption involving business and governments to the social role of companies in countries struggling with high unemployment, environmental worries and conflicting development priorities in the Third World.

"There are two basic ways of approaching this subject in business teaching," says Eric Briys, dean of ISA at Jouy-en-Josas in France. "The first is to integrate it directly into the overall course, and the second is to set up specific seminars in which students can examine their concerns and perceptions."

In pursuit of this second idea, ISA has set up a series of discussion sessions at a center for business created by the Benedictine Monastery of Ganagobie in the French Alps.

"Students are surprised to discover how close the monks are to everyday problems," says Mr. Briys. "Moreover, the Ganagobie center also serves businesses in a very practical sense. For instance, the center was recently asked to assist the Accor hotel group in defining the group's approach to the concept of hospitality. This is something the Benedictines know a lot about."

The Manchester Business School in Britain has established a chair in corporate responsibility sponsored by the Co-operative Bank. "One of the central issues we have to address is the fact that business has become the dominant force in modern, advanced societies, and that the authority of politicians has been correspondingly downgraded," says Brian Harvey, who has been appointed to the Co-operative Bank Professorship. "Accordingly, we have to ask whether companies can act simply like corporate 'Daleks,' scanning the social environment impassively to

register trends that can bring them profit, or whether they have to assume a more active role. In the narrower perspective of protecting corporate reputation, companies need to build in a set of corporate values without trying to control everything from the center."

Business schools vary in their teaching methods and objectives, but all agree that it is impossible to lay down a single proper approach to ethical dilemmas, much less to propose neat answers. This applies even to institutions with specific religious connections such as ESADE and IESE, which are linked to the Jesuits and Opus Dei, respectively.

"A major aim of the ISA students use a Benedictine business center

course is to get students to examine what harm they cause to themselves as individuals by acting unethically," says Mr. Torres. "Trying to decide on the course to take on the basis of the harm caused to others by a specific line of action soon leads to inextricable conundrums." Mr. Torres also stresses that the task is particularly tricky in the case of international classes mixing students from different backgrounds with different approaches to business methods.

"Our students come from many different countries and cultures," says Luis M. Puges, director-general of ESADE. "We try to identify common ground on ethical issues." According to Henri-Claude de Benignis, who teaches ethics at INSEAD, the objective is to provide students with the necessary tools and models to organize a conceptual framework and to be aware of the consequences of alternative decisions.

"The American idea of drawing up a corporate code of conduct is now moving to Europe, but in my view this approach does not really solve the problem," says Mr. de Benignis. "In the United States, this type of action is based essentially on the belief that being seen to be ethical pays off, which is not an ethical response."

The Groupe ESC Lyon recently launched a study on business ethics and European civilization in the context of a professorial chair sponsored by two French companies - Lyonnaise des Eaux-Dumez and Groupe Schneider. Professor Fred Seidel of ESC Lyon examined the transposition of a code of conduct drawn up by a U.S. multinational to its French subsidiary. His report showed that the mere process of translating the code from English into French subtly and significantly changed the meaning of several key concepts.

Joaquin Garralda, who teaches on ethical issues at the Instituto de Empresa in Madrid, believes that corporate codes of ethics can often play a useful role. "One example is the BBV bank, which drew up such a code in 1990 when the Banco de Bilbao and the Banco de Vizcaya merged to form the BBV," he says. "This helped to minimize conflicts and to define a new corporate identity."

Research carried out jointly by Ashridge and ethics consultants Integrity Works in Britain also suggests that concrete steps should be taken. In a report on their research findings, authors Andrew Wilson of Ashridge and John Drummond of Integrity Works advise a four-point action plan. This starts with an "ethics audit," followed by the creation of a code of ethics. Monitoring and enforcement procedures should then be set up, accompanied by the development of an "ethics index."



Asking the right questions before enrolling may be one of the most important decisions you'll ever make.

## WHAT DO STUDENTS WANT?

The following questions were developed by the European Foundation for Management Development to help prospective students (and their parents) identify their needs and the most suitable business school and program:

- Do I want a degree (diploma, MBA, etc.), or would a good general management course be enough?
- Am I especially interested in an education with high-quality content, or do I also want a "business-card effect" (e.g., "MBA INSEAD")?
- How much time can I devote to the study?
- How much money can I spend?
- In which geographical area do I want to follow the program?
- In what language?
- Do I want a full-time program or a part-time one that can be combined with my job? Can I combine my job with a course in a foreign institution?
- Based on my academic background and years of professional experience, what are the programs that meet my knowledge and experience level? Which do I meet in my own country?

## BOOM IS OVER, LEARNING HAS BEGUN

The great boom in Central and East European business education shows marked signs of slowing down. The lessons learned from it, however, are still being absorbed.

A simple perception triggered the business-education boom in 1990. "Everybody in Central and Eastern Europe saw a personal opportunity in getting a form of business education, and they all rushed to take advantage of it," says Allan Gibb, chairman of the Small Business Centre at Durham University's Business School and a leading expert on the East's nascent corporate sectors. The "everybody" he refers to comprises university students and would-be entrepreneurs seeking new career opportunities as well as managers of public-sector companies trying to keep existing positions.

To handle the rush, thousands of business schools - reportedly 300 in Hungary

alone - were founded. Soon, business schools existed in all of the region's 19 countries, including Albania and Romania.

Even this sudden abundance of schools did not satisfy demand. The overflow from the East helped management schools in Vienna, Munich and Berlin combat a recession-caused slump in enrollment. In many of these schools, Central and East European businesspeople make up between a third and a half of their student bodies.

The abundance of schools was accompanied by a relative lack of experienced instructors - a shortage that Westerners were only too happy to fill. A very motley crew made its way eastward to dispense the gospel of the free-market economy. Their ranks ranged from \$5,000-a-day management experts to recently graduated masters of international economics, whose practical

business expertise was derived from a quick reading of the biographies of Nicholas Hayek and George Soros. The Westerners' sources of funding were also variegated: the European Union, private-sector philanthropy, national foreign-aid programs and paid commissions from local governments. Their underlying message was, however, unvarying: Let us (from the West) use our models to show you (in the East) how business is to be done.

An outbreak of realism was responsible for reining in the boom.

"Central and East Europeans have quickly developed an eye for quality, and this has checked their unbridled enthusiasm. They have learned to discern which schools really offer value-for-money education," says Danica Purg, director of the International Executive Development Center in Brdo pro Kranj, Slovenia and president of the Central/Eastern Europe Management Development Association (CEEMAN), a network of 28 leading institutions located in the region and in other parts of Europe. "The schools have also quickly learned that having a Western instructor is not necessarily a guarantee of high-quality education."

According to Gay Haskins, international education expert at the Brussels-based European Forum for Management Development, this growing hard-eyed realism has produced a consolidation in Central and East European business education. "It is still a very volatile

scene," she says, "but it is becoming increasingly apparent which schools and institutions are viable in terms of the instruction they provide on a long-term basis."

Increasing this viability is one of CEEMAN's major objectives, says Ms. Purg. To help students select high-quality institutions, CEEMAN is working with other agencies to establish standards of accreditation and program evaluation.

"Central and Eastern Europe now constitute a huge classroom for all teachers of business education, including many on-site experts from the West, who have been learning as much as they have been teaching," says Ms. Purg.

The boom has left Central and Eastern Europe with a great asset - such well-regarded schools as the Czech Management Center - and some unfinished business. Despite the extent of its geographic coverage, the region's network of business schools has largely failed to serve one of its main groups of customers: the proprietors of small businesses, of which there are now millions in Central and Eastern Europe.

"These proprietors are often very short on the time and money requisite to sit and learn in a classroom, and very long on need for very practical instruction about how to manage and develop their businesses," says Mr. Gibb. "There is a clear need for programs of business education targeted especially at their time frames and needs."

Terry Swartzberg

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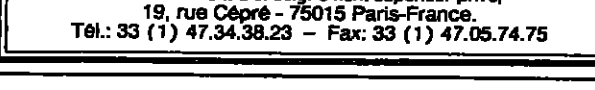
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## SPORTS

## Knicks Finally Overcome 3-Time Champion Bulls

By Michael Wilbon  
Washington Post Service

**NEW YORK** — It took seven games, it took 18 second-half points from center Patrick Ewing after a scoreless first half, it took 20 rebounds from forward Charles Oakley, it took interior passing they didn't even know they had. But ultimately, before 19,763 zealous fans in Madison Square Garden, the New York Knicks beat the Chicago Bulls in an Eastern Conference playoff series, 87-77, on Judgment Day, Game 7, and advanced to the conference championship matchup with the Indiana Pacers.

"It took hard work. I'll tell you that," said Oakley, a towel draped over his head.

So it goes in the Eastern Conference of the National Basketball Association. The Boston Celtics, once upon a time, had to overcome the Philadelphia 76ers; the Detroit Pistons had to overcome the Celtics; and the Bulls had to overcome the Pistons. It is an evolutionary process to eventually slay the dragon that tormented you. The three-time defending champion Bulls had tormented the Knicks for three years, but will do so no more.

The Knicks coach, Pat Riley, had told Ewing and Oakley before the series that they would have to be at their best in the most critical games if New York was going to seriously stalk an NBA title.

After picking up two quick fouls and failing to score in the first half, Ewing finished with 18 points and 17 rebounds, 14 of those after intermission. Oakley had 17 points to go with his 20 rebounds, and the two big men combined for 10 of New York's 21 assists.

Scottie Pippen scored a game-

high 20 points for the Bulls. Horace Grant had 17 and Pete Myers 15. But Chicago was beaten too soundly in rebounding (52-44 overall, 18-7 on the offensive end) to continue its improbable march toward a fourth straight championship.

"When we closed the doors of the locker room," said the Bulls' coach, Phil Jackson, "I told the team, 'We haven't been unemployed at this point of the season for a long time.'"

Indeed, the Bulls will be absent from the NBA's Eastern Conference Finals for the first time since 1988, after five straight trips.

"To do something like this is once in a lifetime, and we had a great run," Grant said. "It was very weird walking off the floor and not being champs again."

B.J. Armstrong, who scored eight points after averaging 18.2 in the series, said: "We have to let it go. We worked hard this year. We had one little lapse in the third quarter and that's when we blew the game."

That lapse, and the fact that the Bulls didn't build a lead with Ewing on the bench with foul trouble the first half was pretty much the story of Game 7.

Although Ewing had no points at intermission and guard John Starks had a single free throw, the Bulls trailed 38-37 at the half, which for the defending champions was an ominous sign. As the Knicks forward Anthony Mason said, "When your top two scorers aren't shooting and you're up a point, you figure it's a pretty good situation because that's not going to continue."

Even so, the Bulls opened a 57-53 lead on a Pippen basket with

4:56 left in the third, forcing Riley to call time out.

But Ewing scored on a turnaround to get the Knicks within two, Pippen missed, and Charles Smith's reverse jam on Grant tied the game at 57. The Bulls looked ready to pull away again, leading 63-60 after Grant's jumper. But Luc Longley couldn't make a layup with no defender between him and the rim.

The Knicks had the only break they needed. Oakley scored after Longley's miss and then Greg Anthony blocked Armstrong at one end, leading to a Ewing bank shot at the other to give New York the lead for good, 64-62, with 45 seconds left in the third.

Riley had written three pregame musts on the blackboard: hold the Bulls to less than 80 points (check); keep them under 45 percent shooting (check) and out-rebound them by 15 (close enough). He also wanted a complete game of relentless aggression, which his team gave him for the first time in the series.

At the final buzzer, the Bulls handed out not only handshakes but hugs. To the Knicks. With kind words. The Bulls weren't about to pass the torch the way the Pistons did, walking off the court with several seconds left in a Game 4 Chicago sweep in Detroit in 1991.

"You couldn't ask for a greater opponent," Anthony said of the Bulls. "They're a great team, with talent and great coaching, poise, everything."

Riley added: "It's hard to win three-in-a-row and then one year you don't win it. Despite what has been said and been felt between the two teams, this has been a great, bitter rivalry born out of competition."



Patrick Ewing, driving past Scottie Pippen, overcame a scoreless first half to lead the Knicks with 18.

## Orioles Derail Yankees, 6-5, In 10 Innings

The Associated Press

Jack Voigt's two-run single capped a two-out 10th-inning rally as the Baltimore Orioles defeated New York 6-5, snapping the Yankees nine-game home winning streak.

With two outs in the 10th, Harold Baines singled off Xavier Hernandez.

## AL ROUNDUP

needers and Leo Gomez doubled. Voigt then singled in pinch-runner Lonnie Smith and Gomez.

Mark Williamson allowed a homer to Jim Leyritz in the eighth but got the victory Sunday. Leo Smith gave up Paul O'Neill's 10th homer in the 10th but closed it out for his major-league-leading 17th save.

O'Neill went 3-for-4 with a double and homer to raise his major league-leading average to .475.

Jim Leyritz hit his seventh homer in the eighth inning off Mark Williamson to tie it at 4-4.

The Orioles had taken a 4-3 lead in the top of the inning when Mike Devereaux tripled and scored on Gomez's two-out single.

Baltimore outlasted the Yankees 11-3 over the first five innings and built a 3-1 lead behind Mike Mussina. Mussina, who threw 128 pitches, tied in the sixth when the Yankees collected four hits and scored twice on Leyritz's two-run single.

Gomez drove in a run in the second with a double off Jimmy Key to give the Orioles a 1-0 lead, but Randy Velarde's second homer of the season and second in three days against the Orioles tied it.

Brady Anderson's RBI double in the fourth put the Orioles back in front, and Chris Holmes run-scoring double in the fifth put Baltimore ahead 2-1.

Holmes' double ignited a dispute when Cal Ripken was called out at the plate trying to score. The Orioles' manager, Johnny Oates, was ejected for the first time this season for arguing with the home plate umpire, John Shulock.

Kyle Lofgren, 4, Angels 0: In Anaheim, California, David Cone pitched a one-hitter for his third straight shutout.

Cone surrendered only a leadoff single to Chili Davis in the fifth and faced just 29 batters to become the AL's first eight-game winner.

White Sox 5, Athletics 2: Frank Thomas drove in two runs to give Chicago a sweep of the three-game series in Oakland.

Jason Bere allowed one run over six-plus innings to win his third consecutive start for the White Sox, who have won six of their last seven. The A's, who were swept for the ninth time this season, have lost six straight and 27 of their last 31.

Mariners 8, Rangers 2: Ken Griffey Jr. tied Mickey Mantle's record for most home runs in the first two months of the season, hitting his 20th as the Mariners swept Texas in Seattle.

Griffey's 20 homers in 42 games matched Mantle's 20 homers in 41 games in the first two months of the 1956 season when Mantle hit 52.

The Mariners have eight more games left this month.

The Mariners outscored the Rangers 45-10 in the series.

In earlier games, reported Monday in some editions of the International Herald Tribune:

Red Sox 9, Twins 2: In Minneapolis, Roger Clemens limited Minnesota to five hits in eight innings as the Red Sox stopped the Twins' winning streak at seven.

Clemens, who has allowed eight runs in 61 innings over his last eight starts, walked four and struck out seven in handing the Twins their first home loss in 10 games.

Indians 8, Blue Jays 0: Dennis Martinez pitched a seven-hit shutout, his first in the AL in nearly 10 years, as Cleveland snapped a seven-game road losing streak.

Martinez struck out three and walked three for the 24th shutout of his career. Martinez, who last faced Toronto as a Baltimore Oriole, allowed only two runners to reach second.

Tigers 9, Brewers 6: Travis Fryman drove in four runs and rookie Chris Gomez went 3-for-4 as Detroit sent visiting Milwaukee to its 11th consecutive loss.

Fryman went 3-for-4 with a two-run homer, and Gomez singled, doubled and hit his fifth home run in May as the Tigers won their sixth straight home game.

## Lehman Eases Masters Loss in Memorial Golf

The Associated Press

**DUBLIN, Ohio** — Tom Lehman, in a performance deemed "unbelievable" by Jack Nicklaus, eased the pain of his Masters loss with a record-setting five-stroke triumph in The Memorial.

Just as he did six weeks ago in Augusta, Lehman took a lead into the final round Sunday. But instead of letting it get away, he built on it, posting not only his first triumph on the tour but the most lopsided victory of the season.

Lehman's fourth straight 5-under-par 67 on the Mifflinfield Village Golf Club produced a total of 20-under-268, three strokes better than the course and tournament record of 271 set by Hal Sutton in 1986.

Nicklaus, the tournament host, founder and course designer, paraphrased Bobby Jones's accolade to Nicklaus 19 years ago, saying Lehman "truly played a game with which I am not familiar."

Greg Norman, who birdied three of the last four holes to gain second place, closed with a 64. Norman finished at 278. John Cook was next at 271-276.

## In Lottery, Bucks Win No. 1 Pick For NBA Draft

Reuters

**NEW YORK** — The Milwaukee Bucks were the big winners of the National Basketball Association's annual draft lottery, winning for the first time since 1977 the No. 1 pick in the league's draft.

The Dallas Mavericks, who finished with just 13 victories for the worst record in the league, won the second overall pick Sunday for the June 29 draft and the Detroit Pistons will pick third. The Pistons and Bucks tied for the worst record in the Eastern Conference at 20-62.

The 11 teams that failed to qualify for the playoffs were eligible for the lottery. A new system increased the chances of the teams with the worst records of getting a top pick.

The Minnesota Timberwolves, also with a 20-62 record, will get the fourth draft selection.

Glen Robinson of Purdue, the nation's leading collegiate scorer, is considered the top prize of the draft. Grant Hill of Duke and Jason Kidd of California are also expected to be among the top picks.

The Seattle SuperSonics, who finished with the best record in the NBA at 63-19, participated in the lottery because of a trade with Charlotte. They will pick 11th.

Following the Timberwolves are the Washington Bullets, Philadelphia 76ers, Los Angeles Clippers, Sacramento Kings, Boston Celtics and Los Angeles Lakers.

## Canucks Blank Leafs For 3-1 Series Lead

The Associated Press

**VANCOUVER, British Columbia** — The Vancouver Canucks' odd couple is performing well again with the help of a castoff from Quebec. Cliff Ronning and Sergio Momesso have been making significant

## STANLEY CUP PLAYOFFS

contributions in the playoffs since winger Martin Gelinas, claimed on waivers from the Quebec Nordiques, was added to their line.

The unit combined for the key goal Sunday night when the Canucks blanked the Toronto Maple Leafs, 2-0, to take a 3-1 lead in their best-of-7 Western Conference final. Game 5 is Tuesday.

Ronning converted a return pass from Momesso at 17:55 of the third period — a play started by Gelinas — to break open a contest featuring brilliant goaltending at both ends.

"Everyone knows Sergio is Italian and a little hot-blooded," Ronning said. "We do a give-and-go game that suits him and suits me. Our line, we're definitely not superstars. We work hard whenever we get out there. I think that's important."

Ronning's fourth goal of the playoffs ruined a solid but cautious Toronto attempt to even the series.

Pavel Bure, with his 13th playoff goal, scored into an empty net after Felix Potvin was pulled for an extra attacker.

The Leafs were denied 29 times by goalie Kirk McLean, who tied a playoff record with his fourth shutout. It was McLean's second in a row over the Leafs, who have not beaten him for the last 135 minutes and 23 seconds.

"Cliff Ronning is probably our most improved player over three years," said Canucks coach Pat Quinn. "He's learned to play the other side of the game defensively."

McLean and Potvin traded huge saves for 57 minutes, with McLean making the more difficult ones.

Vancouver has won three in a row after an overtime loss in Game 1 in Toronto.

## Late Homer Halts Padres' Skid

The Associated Press

San Diego's sorry streak finally ended, while Colorado's winless woes continued against Atlanta.

The Padres snapped a club-record, 13-game losing streak Sunday, beating the Houston Astros, 7-6, on Phil Plantier's two-run homer in the eighth inning. Colorado fell to 0-16 lifetime against Atlanta with an 8-3 loss. Greg Maddux struck out nine batters in seven

## NL ROUNDUP

innings as the Braves swept the three games in Denver.

After the Padres won, San Diego's Tony Gwynn said: "You would just sense that the guys were wondering, 'How are we going to blow it today?' When Plantier hit the home run, it was more just a feeling of relief that we had gotten the lead back."

Plantier fouled off several pitches from Mitch Williams before hitting a 1-2 pitch deep into the right-centerfield pavilion for his 13th homer of the season.

San Diego moved ahead 5-3 with four runs in the fifth, but Houston came back to take a 6-5 lead on Luis Gonzalez's two-run double in the seventh.

Braves 8, Rockies 3: Maddux limited Colorado to five hits before giving way to Mark Wohlers in the eighth. He finished off all seven innings with strikeouts, including his third in a row of Howard Johnson to escape from a bases-loaded jam in the sixth.

Lance Painter, making his first appearance for the Rockies this season after being called up from Class AAA Colorado Springs, gave up three runs in the third, including Terry Pendleton's two-run homer.

Cubs 6, Giants 5: Derrick May made a great catch in the top of the 11th, then hit a leadoff homer in the bottom to give Chicago its sixth straight victory.

May slammed into the left-field wall to catch Kirt Manwaring's deep fly ball in the Giants' 11th at Wrigley Field. He won it in the bottom of the inning, hitting a 2-0 pitch from Rod Beck into the left-field bleachers.

In earlier games, reported Monday in some editions of the Herald Tribune:

Expos 3, Pirates 2: Pedro Martinez got the victory and his first major-league hit, tripling in three runs to lead Montreal to Pittsburgh.

Martinez was hitless in 22 career at-bats before tripling with the bases loaded in the fourth. On the mound, Martinez gave up two runs and six hits in six innings. Pittsburgh starter Denny Neagle also got his first big-league hit, breaking an 0-for-40 slump.

Dodgers 10, Reds 3: Brett Butler singled, tripled and homered, and Mike Piazza hit a three-run homer as visiting Los Angeles won for the ninth time in 11 games.

Winner Pedro Astacio gave up seven hits and one run in eight innings. He had a shutout until giving up an RBI triple to Hal Morris in the eighth.

The Dodgers scored their first four runs off Reds' starter Tim Lincecum, who has given up 11 runs in the first inning in his last five starts.

Cardinals 10, Marlins 9: Gregg Jefferies' two-run double capped a four-run ninth that gave St. Louis the victory in a brawl-marred game in Miami.

Marlin reliever Jeremy Hernandez entered the ninth inning with a 9-6 lead, but couldn't hold it. The Cardinals went ahead on a pinch-hit double by Mark Whiten, Ray Lankford's RBI single and Jefferies' double.

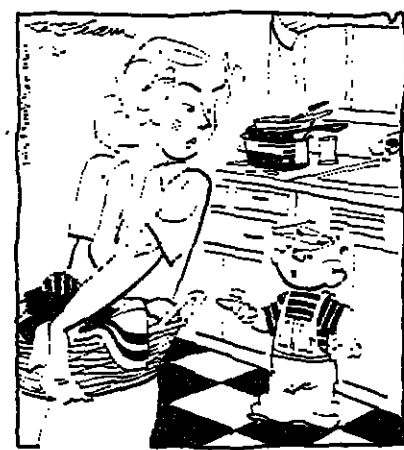
Four players were ejected following a second-inning brawl, triggered when St. Louis starter Allen Watson hit a batter after giving up three homers in the inning. Luis Alcala had five hits for the Cardinals.

Phillies 8, Mets 3: Lenny Dykstra, Pete Incaviglia and Darren Daulton led off innings with home runs as Philadelphia completed a three-game sweep of New York and an 8-2 homestand.

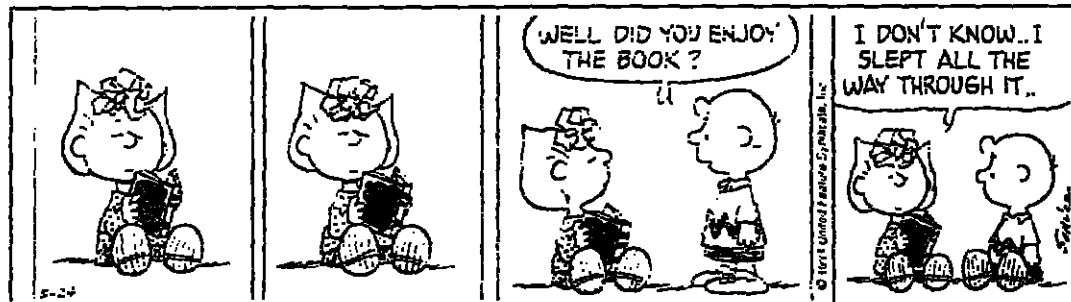
Tommy Greene allowed three runs on four hits and struck out six before leaving after 5½ innings.

Philadelphia's Dave Hollins broke his left hand while sliding into first in the third inning, and is expected to be out six weeks.

## DENNIS THE MENACE



## PEANUTS



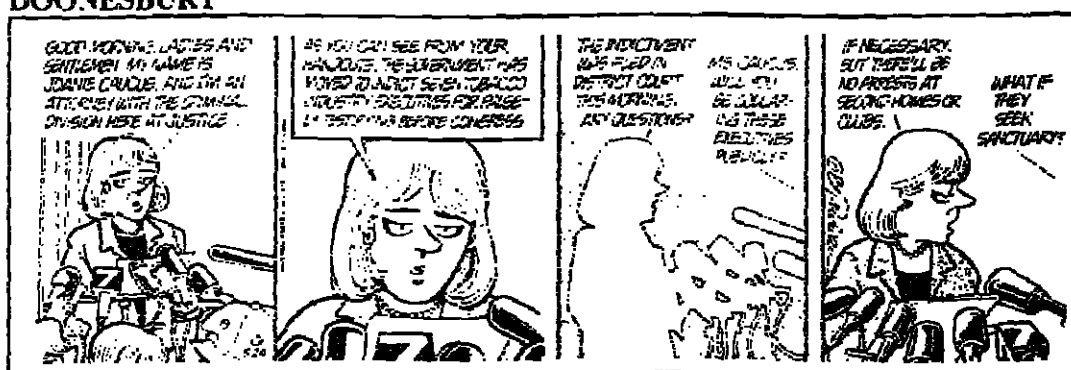
## GARFIELD



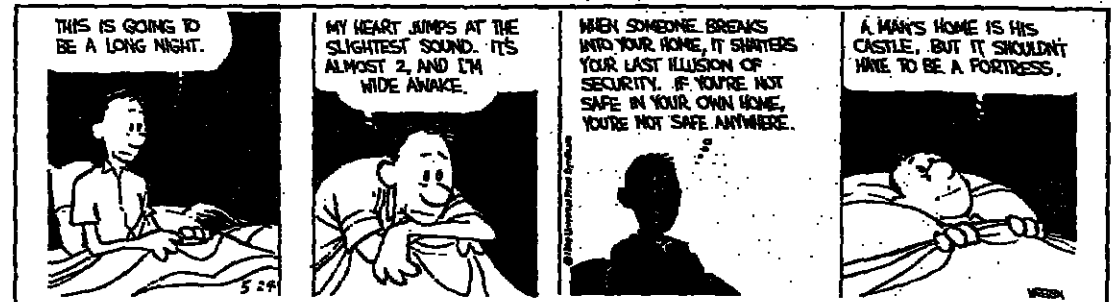
## BEETLE BAILEY



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## SPORTS

## Henri and Martina: Early Good-Byes, But Not Farewell

By Ian Thomsen  
International Herald Tribune

PARIS — Roland Garros was unveiling its newest court and called on Henri Leconte to open it, the way Las Vegas would hire Tony Bennett to open a new casino. A choir of schoolchildren old enough to be tennis millionaires was belting out "La Marseillaise" as loud as they could; against their better spirit, the thousands in the audience stood quiet, so as not to trample the song.

Then Leconte came on against Paul Haarhuis of the Netherlands. Leconte is the French Jimmy Connors. He is only 30 — nothing compared to Martina Navratilova — but there is a hereditary-disk surgery in his background, which he uses like a beggar's sad story. You knew he was aiming for the possibility of a third-round match against the world's No. 1 player, Pete Sampras, on this day that is foreign to Sampras, in front of these French fans who are loyal to Leconte. Then he lost in straight sets to Haarhuis, 6-4, 6-4, 6-2.

"I am getting older and the tennis is getting faster, faster every year," Leconte said. "Even if I enjoy myself playing tennis sometimes, I am not able to do the same shot that I am supposed to do before, because the guys are playing faster. The guys are playing better, and me? I am slower. And when I am getting older I am going to be slower again, especially with the operation I had. I feel pain all the time, but I get used to it."

A few reporters left his impending funeral to go watch Martina. You didn't expect Martina to lose on the first day of the French Open, in her first appearance here in six years. She is 37, or 16 years older than Miriam Oremans, the 54th-ranked Dutchwoman who so upset her, 6-4, 6-4. "This is not a farewell tour," said Navratilova, who will remain in Paris to play doubles. "This is my last year on the circuit. I just felt I wanted more matches going into Wimbledon, because I felt last year I wasn't sharp enough because I hadn't played enough."

It was never quite right for her Monday, and to attribute it simply to natural causes is to ignore the wonder of her world No. 4 ranking, and the fact that she has not finished any of the last 19 seasons ranked lower than No. 5. Navratilova won this championship in 1982 and 1984. But day is her least favorite surface, and she had been advised against returning here by her coach, Craig Kardon, as well as by Billie Jean King. "But I don't think they were worried about me losing in the first round," she said.

Perhaps if she had become angrier sooner — but that's a tough demand for someone who has hit the ball so many hundreds of thousands of times and heard people crying "Go Martina" in so many different languages. Yet that is the difference between someone like her and someone like Leconte, who reasonably and realistically hopes to make the most of what he's got. His is the kind of high life that leads to clogged arteries and other happy ailments; Martina will never be that type. She probably was thinking of winning the tournament.

"Had I been able to get through the first round, I think I would have been O.K. here," she said.

She likes to involve the crowd and ride their emotions, but she was assigned to Court 1, which on Monday was a shallow, uncrowded bowl holding a couple thousand. "I just wish I had got on Center Court," Navratilova said. "I was disappointed I didn't play there."

There was something more to her disappointment than the inspiration of winning a match. She has, after all, won more than 1,400 of them. In the second set, she began to show fatigue, trying to incline herself with panic; or perhaps the panic, helpfully, took over on its own. She cursed herself and tossed herself around, and it was all decided by the sixth game of the second set. Oremans was serving, and it went on and on, like being chased in a dream. It went on for 18 points. Martina had a half-dozen chances to break through, and maybe then she would have been O.K. This is not a farewell tour.

It really isn't.

The last shot of the crucial game came off her forehead. The net is laced like a racket, and the ball hung in it on her side. She grabbed her own racket with both hands like a microphone, turning away, and everyone could hear her cry, "Oh God..."

As for the foreign day at Roland Garros, it is the shade of a perfect sunrise, and the court had been swept to resemble the beaches on some mornings, smooth and firm; at least, Navratilova seems to regard every court this way. She looks around as if she wants to always remember the moment, not to cash in on it, but to breathe life into it and make it last.

"I try not to think about it," she said. "When I do, I get misty eyed. I think that is why I was more affected by losing because I know this is the last time, and it would have probably been easier on myself if I hadn't said this is my last year."

As she was walking off the court, she slammed her racket down like an axe upon her chair, and, symbolically, the racket broke.

"I thought about it later and I said, 'Oh, great, really setting a great example,'" she said. She had never done that before. Likely, she never will again.



Steffi Graf cruised past Katarina Stutenikova in straight sets on Monday as the French Open began.

## Previous Drug Rehab For Capriati Reported

The Associated Press

MIAMI — Jennifer Capriati spent time in drug rehabilitation three months before she was arrested on marijuana possession charges, Newsweek reported.

The magazine, reporting Sunday for this week's editions, said the tennis star, 18, had spent more than a week at The Manors, a \$950-a-day private psychiatric hospital in Tarpon Springs, Florida. Capriati is currently undergoing drug rehabilitation at Mount Sinai Medical Center in Miami Beach.

Newsweek said two girls who spent much of the weekend with Capriati before her arrest May 16 at the Coral Gables motel had also been treated at the clinic.

A Capriati spokeswoman would not say whether the player had ever been admitted to a similar program before her arrest.

A spokeswoman for The Manors said Florida law prohibits the facility from releasing confidential information about patients.

Newsweek outlined a series of events leading to the arrest: Capriati began a weekend binge Friday, May 13, with the decision to drive from Boca Raton to Miami to meet a 16-year-old girl with whom she had become friendly at the clinic.

The girl reportedly introduced Capriati to another girl, Timineet Brangan, 17, who had also been treated at The Manors. They then embarked on three days of partying that ended when Brangan's parents sent the police to the motel where Capriati was arrested.

Natasha Wilson, who parted with the group, told Newsweek she had used cocaine and heroin with Capriati over the weekend, echoing a claim made last week by Tom Windland, a Connecticut drug-dealer arrested with Capriati.

But another man who attended the party, Mark Black, 19, insisted to Newsweek that Capriati used no heavy drugs.

## Men's and Women's First Round French Open Results

The Associated Press

Monday's first round results from the French Open Tennis Championships at the Roland Garros Stadium in Paris:

**MEN'S SINGLES**

Lars Johansson, Sweden, def. Steve Brann, U.S., 6-2, 6-2, 10-8.

Jacco Eltingh, Netherlands, def. Carl Uwe Steeb, Germany, 7-5, 6-2, 6-2.

Richard Krajcik, U.S., def. Michael Rasmussen, Denmark, 6-4, 6-4, 6-4.

Karel Novacek, Czech, def. Thomas Enqvist, Sweden, 6-4, 6-4, 6-4.

David Wheat, U.S., def. Thomas Enqvist, Sweden, 6-4, 6-4, 6-4.

Fabrizio Santoni, France, def. Kenneth Carlsen, Denmark, 7-5, 6-2, 6-2.

Paul Haarhuis, Netherlands, def. Henri Leconte, France, 6-4, 6-4, 6-4.

Michael Tilmant, Sweden, def. Marcus Zisviler, Germany, 6-4, 6-4, 6-4.

Alfonso Carreras, Spain, def. Marcos Ondruska, South Africa, 6-1, 7-7, 6-2, 6-2.

Michael Rasmussen, Denmark, def. Frederic Fontana, France, 6-4, 6-4, 6-4.

Jonathan Stark, U.S., def. Bram Larsson, Australia, 6-2, 6-2, 6-2.

Andrei Medvedev, U.S., def. Andrei Medvedev, U.S., 6-4, 6-4, 6-4.

Greg Rusedski, Canada, def. Alex Goolbsy, Germany, 7-5, 6-2, 6-2, 6-2.

Steffi Graf (1), Germany, def. Katarina Stutenikova, Slovakia, 6-2, 6-2.

## Navratilova Falls, as Graf And Sampras Win Easily

The Associated Press

PARIS — Martina Navratilova was ousted from the French Open on Monday in a shocking first-round upset by Miriam Oremans of the Netherlands.

Oremans, a 21-year-old with only one victory in eight previous events this year, had more energy and fewer errors in winning 6-4, 6-4, 6-2. The fourth-seeded Navratilova, 37, hadn't lost in the first round of a Grand Slam since the U.S. Open in 1976.

After match point, she slammed her racket into a chair on the sideline, smashing the frame.

"At that point I was too disappointed to care about anything," she said. "I hope I never do that again."

In contrast to Navratilova, the top seeds Steffi Graf and Pete Sampras were easy winners.

Sampras, seeking to become the first man since Rod Laver in 1969 to win four consecutive Grand Slam events, overpowered 109th-ranked Alberto Costa of Spain, 6-3, 6-4, 6-4. Graf took the first step toward a fifth straight Grand Slam title with a 6-2, 6-2 victory over Katarina Stutenikova.

Navratilova, who said this was her last French Open, had reached at least the fourth round in her 11 previous appearances. She won the title twice, most recently in 1993, and before Monday had a 52-9 record in the event.

"Seeing that this was my last year, I really wanted to play one last time," she said. "I'm still happy I came — I just wish I had played better."

Graf's triumph was never in doubt on a bright, breezy morning. But Stutenikova, a 21-year-old Slovak ranked only 100th, broke service twice in the first set and kept the defending champion on court for 57 minutes — longer than usual for a Graf first-round match.

The German, who has won the French Open three times, is seeking to match the five consecutive Grand Slams she won in 1988-89. Margaret Court won six in a row in 1969-71 and Navratilova did the same in 1983-84.

To equal Court and Navratilova, Graf would have to stay at peak level through the end of Wimbledon in July.

"Sometimes I'm excited, sometimes I'm not excited. For me, this is the most difficult part of the year," she said.

Sampras never has reached the semifinals in four previous appearances at Roland Garros stadium. Clay has always been his shakiest surface, yet he is favored to win a title that would assure his place among the all-time greats.

Since Laver, no man has won all four Grand Slam tournaments, even consecutively. For Sampras, Boris Becker and Stefan Edberg, the French Open is the one missing title.

Becker never even showed up for his Center Court match against Jonathan Stark of the United States. Minutes before the start, the 10th-seeded German withdrew because of a pulled back muscle.

Among the men's seeds advancing were No. 4 Andrei Medvedev of Ukraine, 6-2, 6-4, 6-2, over Australian Wally Masur, No. 5 Goran Ivanisevic of Croatia, 7-6 (7-5), 7-6 (7-5), 6-2, over Joern Ziegenfuss of Germany, and No. 9 Todd Martin of the United States over France's Stephane Simian, 6-2, 7-6 (7-3), 3-6, 6-1.

Andre Agassi, a two-time finalist, who is unseeded in a Grand Slam for the first time since the 1987 U.S. Open, beat three-time champion Mats Wilander, 6-2, 7-5, 6-1.

Aside from Navratilova, the only women's seed to lose was No. 13 Magdalena Maleeva of Bulgaria, who fell to Romania's Ruxandra Dragomir, 6-3, 7-5. Winners included No. 3 Conchita Martinez, No. 12 Mary Pierce of France and No. 16 Sabine Hack of Germany.

Sampras has been so overwhelmed this year that Sergi Bruguera, the defending champion, and Jim Courier, the winner in 1991 and '92, arrived at Roland Garros as longshots.

Bruguera, seeded sixth, has been bothered by shoulder problems. Courier, seeded seventh, hasn't won a title in 10 months.

Sampras's toughest challenge could come from second-seeded Michael Stich, who beat Bruguera clay Sunday in the World Team Cup final in Düsseldorf.

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## SIDELINES

## Mansell Linked To Williams Spot

LONDON (Combined Dis-

patches) — The Williams-Renaud team is trying to coax the former world champion Nigel Mansell back to Formula One this season to replace Ayrton Senna, a British newspaper reported Monday.

According to the mass-circulation Sun tabloid, Williams is prepared to pay \$21 million to buy out Mansell's contract with IndyCar team Newman-Haas for the rest of the Formula One season. Mansell would race in the Indianapolis 500 on Sunday but would switch to Formula One for the French Grand Prix on July 3, the Sun said.

The paper said the team was "desperate" to replace Senna, who was killed at the San Marino Grand Prix three weeks ago. The Newman-Haas chief, Carl Haas, was quoted as saying he was aware of Mansell's talks on joining Williams "for selected races."

(AP, AFP)

## Denmark's Landrup To Leave Barcelona

BARCELONA (Reuters) — The Danish international midfielder Michael Landrup announced on Monday that he was quitting Barcelona, the Spanish soccer champion, in a shakeup that also involves the firing of the international goal-keeper Andoni Zubizarreta.

Landrup, 29, who recently lost his first team place after differences with Coach Johan Cruyff, said he had had three offers for next season, including one from Real Madrid. His announcement follows a weekend of reports of changes by Cruyff in the Barcelona squad, notably the dismissal of Zubizarreta after eight years with the club.

## Magic Johnson Seeks To Buy Timberwolves

TOKYO (AP) — Earvin (Magic) Johnson said Monday he wanted to buy the National Basketball Association's Minnesota Timberwolves with a group that includes the singers Prince and Janet Jackson.

The former Los Angeles Lakers star, in Japan for a tour with his all-star team, also hinted that he'd like to buy a part of another team if the Timberwolves deal failed.

## SCOREBOARD

## BASEBALL

## Major League Standings

AMERICAN LEAGUE	Best Division	Pct.	W	L
New York	23	43	43	23
Boston	22	42	42	24
Seattle	21	41	41	25
Toronto	20	40	40	26
Detroit	19	39	39	27

Central	Pct.	W	L
Chicago	24	44	22
Cleveland	23	43	23
Minnesota	22	42	24
Kansas City	21	41	25
Milwaukee	20	40	26

West Division	Pct.	W	L
Seattle	24	44	22
California	23	43	23
Texas	22	42	24
Oakland	21	41	25
Los Angeles	20	40	26

Milwaukee	17	25	.405	7½
West Division				
Seattle	19	28	.452	—
California	20	25	.444	½
Texas	18	23	.439	½

Central Division	Pct.	W	L
Chicago	24	44	22
St. Louis	23	43	23
Cincinnati	22	42	24
Pittsburgh	21	41	25
Chicago	20	40	26

Atlanta	27	14	509	—
Montreal	24	18	571	3½
Florida	22	21	512	6
New York	20	22	476	7½
Philadelphia	28	23	465	8



## ART BUCHWALD

## Donahue on Death Row

WASHINGTON — I knew it would come to this sooner or later — Phil Donahue is asking a North Carolina court to grant him permission to videotape the June 5 execution of convicted murderer David Lawson.

This would be a first for the talk shows and Oprah and Geraldo are flashing their teeth that their booking agents hadn't thought of it first.

I can't wait to see the Donahue Broadcast because the show should set off sparks.

The entire program will have to be moved to Death Row Studio A at the prison and the audience will be bused in.

The show will probably go something like this: The condemned man is brought into the room, he hugs Phil and then takes his seat in the electric chair as everyone applauds.

Phil has control of the mike.

"How do you feel, David?"

"What do you mean how do I feel?"

Phil jumps over three rows of guests and a man grabs his mike.

"Is there any chance of your getting a pardon?"

David says, "I hope so, even though it might ruin the sweeps for Phil's show."

The man says, "Phil, do you even care if the murderer gets a pardon?"

"The show goes on whether he gets electrocuted or not, David. What would you like the governor to give you right now?"

"Oprah's cookbook."

Lawson responds, "That's what they tell you, but I found out that it wasn't true. I asked for a medium-rare steak and they served it well-done. I complained to the warden and he said that it was up to the governor to decide if I could send it back to the kitchen. The governor refused. So I was stuck with a tough steak. The apple pie was pretty good, but I passed up the coffee because I didn't want it to keep me awake."

Wide, the author of plays such as "The Importance of Being Earnest," was jailed on May 25, 1895.

Peter Tatchell, a spokesman for the gay rights group Outrage, said that his group had written to Queen Elizabeth II asking her to pardon the writer, whose plays mocked Britain's stratified society. "Wide was the victim of unjust laws," Tatchell said. "His imprisonment is a stain on the judicial system."

Gay Rights Group Seeks Pardon For Oscar Wilde

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Cowgirl Blues  
By Gus Van Sant

By Rita Kempley  
Washington Post Service

NEW YORK — Gus Van Sant folds his arms, crosses his legs and effectively retreats into his Own Private Idaho, a state adjacent to Catalonia and far removed from pressing questions about his latest film, "Even Cowgirls Get the Blues." Unshaven and unfocused, he seems to have drifted off like the narcoleptic hustler in his previous odd opus.

Neither coffee nor coaxing seems to rouse the 42-year-old filmmaker. A pointed question is offered as a pick-me-up. So, how did it feel when the first cut of "Cowgirls" was hogtied, branded and docked at the Toronto Film Festival? Surely this must hurt!

Van Sant pulls and twists the hairs of his right eyebrow, perhaps an alerting mechanism: "Uh, yeah. I mean, it made us, like, keep working on it, yeah."

The first cut was too episodic, says the producer, Laurie Parker, of the adaptation of Tom Robbins' novel. "It was kind of like the greatest hits of 'Even Cowgirls Get the Blues.' You'd have to make it like 'Berlin Alexanderplatz' (which runs more than 15 hours) to present all of Robbins' digressions. As it was, we ended up going back to our original idea of focusing on Sissy and the cowgirls."

Born with thumbs like kielbasa, Sissy Hanksaw (Uma Thurman) is a beautiful hitchhiker whose travels take her to a Western spa, the Rubber Rose Ranch. There she falls in love with Bonanza Jellybean (Rain Phoenix), a feminist cowgirl who liberates the spa from its sexist-pig owner (John Hurt), a cross-dressing manufacturer of feminine hygiene deodorant spray.

Most everything else lies on the cutting room floor. The cosmic timekeepers called Clockpeople have vanished along with many scenes involving the Chink (Pat Morita), a dippy boy man who lives on a ridge above the ranch, which is also home to a flock of endangered whooping cranes who come under the control of Deleors Del Ruby (Lorraine Bracco), a whip-cracking Lorraine.

Robbins, who narrated both versions, says that "the first version had more mag-

ic, the second more coherency." Though he refuses to compare the book with the adaptation, he admits to one regret: "When Gus and I met, I suggested that he change the size of Sissy's thumbs from scene to scene. I used 30 or 40 metaphors to describe Sissy's thumbs, ranging in size from a cucumber to a baseball bat, so that each reader could decide what they looked like. If there's anything I don't like about having the book filmed, it's that the thumbs are pinned down to a specific size."

In any case, they are a distraction, Peter Burnett, a local film writer and professor who sat behind the cast at the Toronto premiere, remembers thinking that the thumbs made the movie unsalvageable. "Something that worked in a novel — like Big Fat Thumbs — does not work visually."

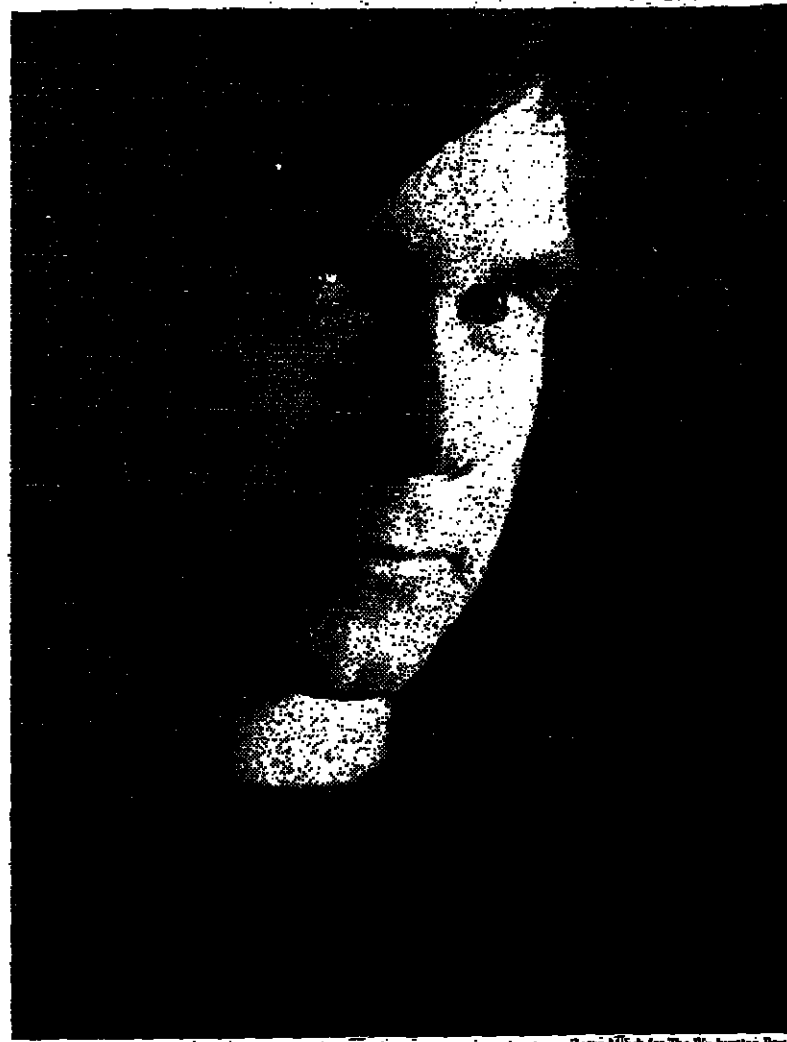
Van Sant's response: "A lot of stuff relates to thumbs because thumbs were the main theme throughout, so no matter what you did thumbs were sort of part of it."

The more Van Sant says, the less we know about what makes him tick. Asked if he exerts control over all aspects of the filmmaking process, he says, "It's not really a matter of what I do. Since I'm doing it, it ends up looking like I did it. If somebody else does it, then it starts to go wrong."

Is it any wonder he's drawn to both poetic imagery and laconic protagonists? "When I first met Gus, I thought he had the personality of a painter," ventures Parker, who began working with him on "Drugstore Cowboy." "He's ruled by the imagination, like the characters played by Uma and Rain. Those characters have a way of traveling in their imagination that is very much like Gus's." Bracco gushes from her New Jersey home, "I'm such a fan of Gus Van Sant. I don't care if he makes a photograph, a commercial or a film, I am just totally interested in his vision. I loved working with Gus. I felt that artistically he was very available, that he trusted what I brought to the character. The really great directors trust in their cast and let them go."

Robbins, who spent a week and a half on location, echoes Bracco. "Gus had a dog on the set, a cute black-and-white mongrel. Tied to the dog's collar was a rope that must have been 30 or 40 feet

## The first version of 'Even Cowgirls Get the Blues' hit the cutting room floor.



Moviemaker Van Sant: A second round for film based on Tom Robbins novel.

long. It was the longest leash by far that I have ever seen. It was the same with actors — he had a rein on them, but it was a pretty loose rein."

If critical reaction at a recent screening of "Cowgirls" means anything — a reviewer called Bracco's performance career-ending — Van Sant might want to consider a choke hold. The film is not only a psychedelic relic, it's a politically incorrect disaster.

Few women will find role models for themselves in "Cowgirls," which was all written with stoned, braless hippie chicks in mind. Bracco's character is certainly assertive, but bullwhips aren't your ordinary gal's accessory. "It's difficult to find people in Manhattan to teach you how to bull-whip," says Bracco. "It's not a part of eastern culture, so I went to the East Village and got a guy who was into S&M."

Once again we turn to Robbins for elu-

cidation. "The book is not a feminist work in the political sense, it's a hymn to the feminine spirit: the values that are associated with the lunar sensibility, the more creative side, a side that tilts in the direction of color as opposed to drabness, to dance as opposed to football, to night as opposed to day, the intuitive as opposed to the logical. Here's an important one — desire as opposed to reason."

"The values that I'm talking about are universal and have been attributed to the feminine throughout history, but they're not necessarily limited to the feminine gender. They're associated with the male too. I bring this up, because I wouldn't want anybody to get the notion that 'Cowgirls' had a purely female slant. It was the '60s, but the era we called the '60s was still very much present. Those values associated with the universal feminine were dominant, among the males as much as among the women."

One of Hong Kong's best loved comedies, were spending Monday night apart — one behind bars for being a workman, the other at the territory's smartest address. Whiskey, the male half of Governor Chris Patten's Norfolk terrier dog, was taken away by the authorities after his last a workman, while his mate, Soda, waited behind. Whiskey will spend seven days in kennels under observation for rabies, then, if given the all clear, will be sent back home.

INTERNATIONAL CLASSIFIED

Appears on Pages 15-16 & 21

## WEATHER

## Europe

	Today	High	Low	W	High	Low	W
Algeria	16/25	17/25	C	22/27	19/21	C	
Amsterdam	16/21	12/23	C	16/21	11/23	C	
Antwerp	16/21	11/23	C	11/21	17/23	C	
Athens	22/28	19/24	C	22/29	22/21	C	
Berlin	22/27	17/23	C	22/29	18/24	C	
Brussels	22/27	17/23	C	22/29	18/24	C	
Budapest	22/27	17/23	C	22/29	18/24	C	
Copenhagen	15/22	10/20	C	17/22	12/24	C	
Dublin	22/27	17/23	C	22/29	18/24	C	
Edinburgh	12/23	8/26	C	13/25	7/24	C	
Geneva	21/27	14/27	C	22/29	13/23	C	
Helsinki	11/22	2/28	C	12/24	4/28	C	
Istanbul	26/32	17/23	C	26/34	19/24	C	
La Paz	24/25	19/24	C	24/25	19/24	C	
London	19/28	16/21	C	21/27	15/23	C	
Lyon	17/22	10/20	C	18/24	8/24	C	
Madrid	23/27	13/25	C	26/32	15/23	C	
Moscow	25/27	18/24	C	27/30	17/23	C	
Munich	21/27	13/25	C	22/29	17/23	C	
Nice	23/27	16/21	C	24/25	17/23	C	
Oslo	16/21	9/26	C	17/22	3/27	C	
Paris	22/27	17/23	C	22/29	18/24	C	
Rome	19/28	11/22	C	21/27	11/22	C	
Stockholm	11/22	4/23	C	12/24	6/23	C	
Toronto	20/26	17/23	C	20/26	18/24	C	
Vienna	11/22	2/28	C	12/24	3/27	C	
Zurich	22/27	17/23	C	22/29	18/24	C	

## Forecast for Wednesday through Friday, as provided by Accu-Weather.



**North America**  
Showers and thunderstorms will affect portions of the East Coast Wednesday, with unsettled weather possibly lingering into Thursday. Chicago and Detroit will be dry and cool Wednesday through Friday. Dallas and Los Angeles will be dry at the end of the week.

**Europe**  
There will be a period of rain in London and Paris during the latter half of the week. Madrid will enjoy dry, seasonable weather. Naples will be dry through Friday in Germany, clients and sun can be expected with nothing more than a passing shower Friday.

**Middle East**  
Today High Low W High Low W Tomorrow High Low W High Low W

	Today	High	Low	W	High	Low	W
Bombay	29/34	29/34	C	29/34	29/34	C	
Calcutta	31/36	25/27	C	31/36	25/27	C	
London	19/28	16/21	C	21/27	15/23	C	
Moscow	25/27	18/24	C	27/30	17/23	C	
Paris	22/27	17/23	C	22/29	18/24	C	
Rome	19/28	11/22	C	21/27	11/22	C	
Stockholm	11/22	4/23	C	12/24	3/27	C	
Toronto	20/26	17/23	C	20/26	18/24	C	
Vienna	11/22	2/28	C	12/24	3/27	C	
Zurich	22/27	17/23	C	22/29	18/24	C	

**Asia**  
Much of the end of the week will be rain-free across eastern China, including Shanghai. There will be a few showers in Seoul and Tokyo at the end of the week. In Manila, afternoon thunderstorms may drop locally heavy rains. Manila will be hot and humid through the end of the week.

**Africa**  
Today High Low W High Low W Tomorrow High Low W High Low W

n a world without bor  
or language barr